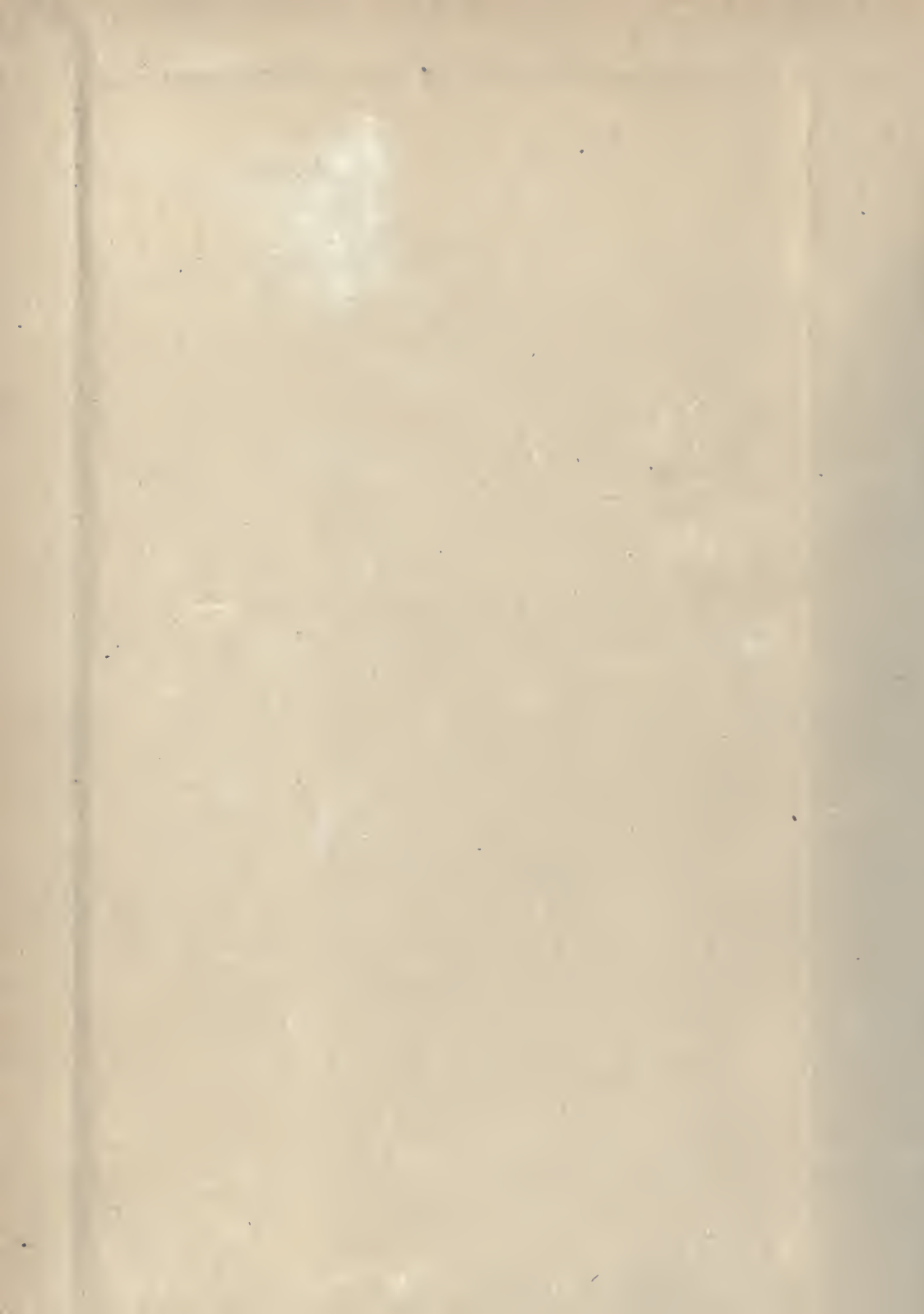
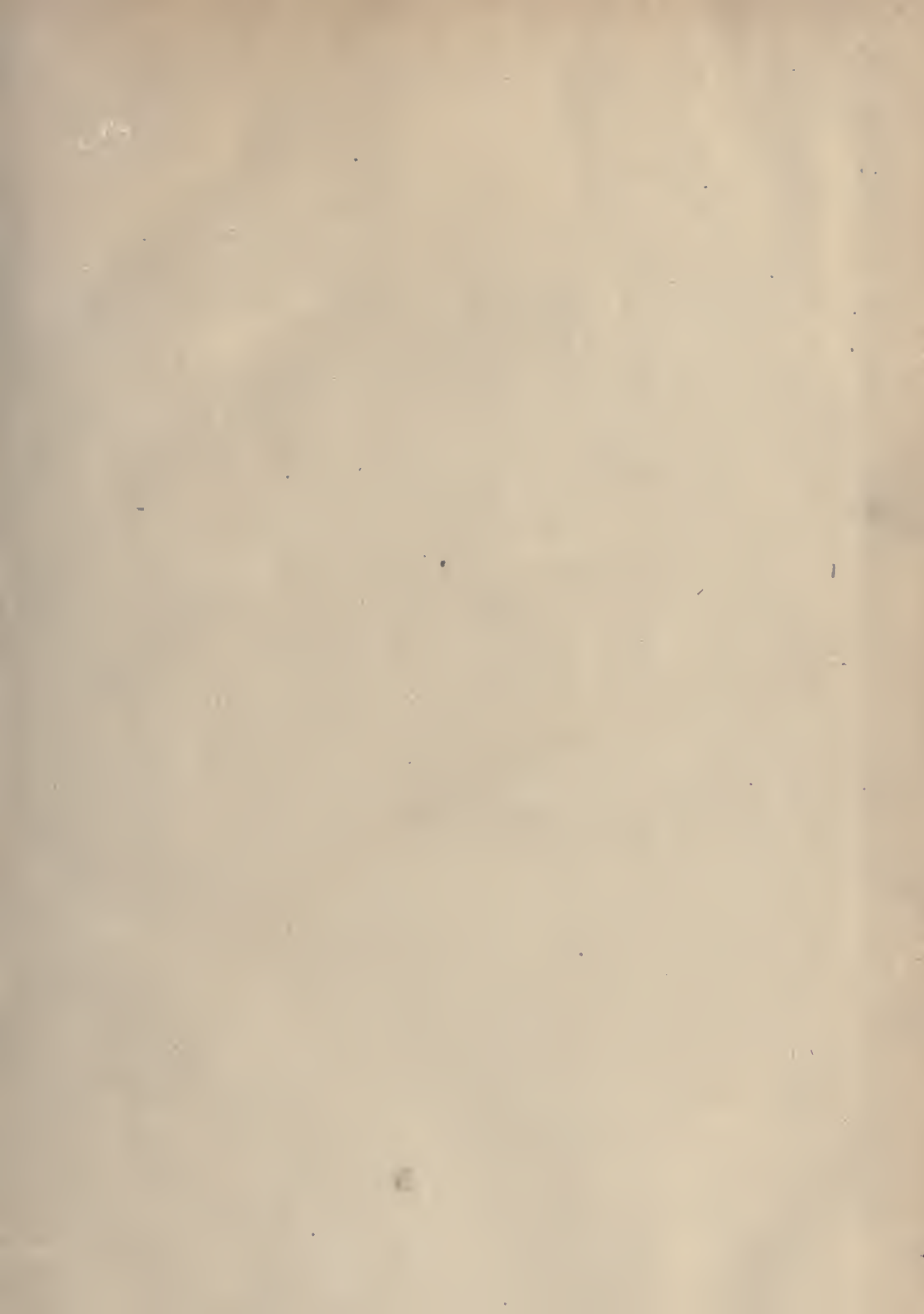


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*Raphael*

THE VISION OF EZEKIEL

# THE BIBLICAL WORLD

VOLUME XXXVI

JULY, 1910

NUMBER I

## Editorial

### A NEW TYPE OF CHRISTIANITY

#### CHRISTIANITY IN THE MAKING

There is a widespread feeling that we are witnessing the rise of a type of Christianity different in some respects from any that has preceded it, and this feeling undoubtedly has its basis in fact. Not even Christianity with its canonized literature and its creeds intended to be perpetual can altogether escape the influence of the evolutionary process that characterizes every phase of human life. The process is always going on; and when we speak of a new type as existing today, we mean neither that it is wholly new, nor that it will displace the older types, nor that it is itself rigid and fixed, nor that it will give rise to a new church or denomination. What we do mean is that the process of change has been more than usually rapid of late, and that there are in consequence signs of the emergence of a type of Christianity, partly old, partly new, with some elements already defined, others yet to be determined, yet on the whole distinct enough to be recognized as taking its place as a new type alongside of others that have been longer established and are more familiar. If this be true, the fact is worth observing and, as far as this is possible, defining.

#### THE SCIENTIFIC SPIRIT IN RELIGION

One characteristic of the new Christianity that is already clearly defined is its thoroughgoing acceptance of the maxim, "Whatsoever is true." This principle is of course not new. It was enunciated long ago by the apostle Paul, and has ruled the thinking of many both before and after him. But the type of Christianity of which we are speaking bids fair to yield a more unqualified allegiance to it



than it has ever received since the day when Jesus made it the ruling principle, intellectually speaking, of his religion. This allegiance finds expression in the acceptance of the results of scientific study of the world. If there be a controversy between Genesis and Geology, the new Christianity will stand with Geology. The record left in the strata of the earth cannot be impugned by a poet of the prescientific age, even though that poet be also a prophet of a higher conception of God than had before his day prevailed. In conformity to the same principle the new Christianity will accept the assured results of historical investigation into the records of ancient times. Religion has its rights, but so also has history, and one of these is that it be studied by historical methods. The Chronicler's religion may have been far better than that of the stone-cutter who left his record in the monuments, or the builder of cities whose ruins uncovered today tell the story of days long gone by. Yet the record in stone and clay may furnish the sure basis for the correction of the Chronicler's chronology. So also will it be in that special department of historical study that is known as literary criticism. How the books of the Bible came into their present form; how we got the Pentateuch, the Psalms, the Gospels, the Apocalypse, are all questions respecting which we may have not unnatural prejudices and preferences. But in the long run the evidence patiently sifted, by a process that may require two or three generations to complete it, must determine our decision, rather than any prejudice or preference whatever.

But decision of such questions as these on the basis of the principle "Whatsoever is true" will affect our decision of other questions also. For, in the first place, the decision of a historical question will often directly affect our judgment in a matter of doctrine. Thus the discovery of historical errors in the books of the Old Testament has compelled the revision of the dogma of the inerrancy of Scripture, and the recognition of the source of the apocalyptic theories of the New Testament has led to a re-examination of the whole matter of the validity of these theories. And in the second place, the thoroughgoing applications of the principle in historical matters will inevitably give rise to the demand for an equally uncompromising application of it in matters of even greater importance. The result of this twofold influence of the apostle's great maxim—or, if

you please, of the incursion of the scientific spirit into the field of theological study—is already seen, and will increasingly appear, in the releasing of men's minds from the bonds of tradition and creed. The men of the past were quite within their rights when they sought to formulate their own convictions and faith; we ourselves are constantly doing the same thing in a more or less formal way. They were only wrong in forgetting that the same right would belong to their successors, and we are wrong when in slothfulness or timidity we shirk our tasks and hide ourselves from our perhaps painful duty behind the shelter of their achievement.

#### THE INSISTENCE UPON CHARACTER

A second already determined characteristic of the Christianity that is now taking shape lies in the fact that it lays less stress on theology than has been usual in the past, and less than it itself lays on conduct and character. It recognizes the possibility that an honest man may be in great perplexity on many questions of doctrine, and yet be sincerely and wholly devoted to the practice of the principles that Jesus taught and exemplified. It does not forget that "he that wills to do his will shall know of the doctrine"; but it remembers also that there is no clause of time or degree attached to this promise and is willing to wait for its fulfilment in its own time and measure. Hence it is disposed to welcome to its fellowship not only all classes and conditions of men in respect to wealth, education, and culture, but also men of widely different types of theological belief or doubt; but not men of widely different moral purpose. It will not indeed be without theology, nor will that theology be a series of negations. It will be positive, but it will be simple and brief; and its emphasis will be on those things assent to which is a test of character rather than a measure of theological subtlety; on sympathy with the aims of Jesus and readiness to walk in the footsteps of his self-sacrifice, rather than on theories of his person or precise predictions respecting the future.

#### THE DEMAND FOR EFFECTIVE SERVICE

A third characteristic of the new type of Christianity will be—already is—its emphasis on practical achievement. Not indeed that the church as such will undertake all the great tasks that demand

doing. It will rather be the duty of the church to produce men and women who will do these things through such agencies as may be found most convenient and effective. But the character of Christianity will be manifest in the type of men that it produces, and in the work that they do in the church and outside of it. It will be in the true sense philanthropic, and in the broadest sense missionary, seeking to make its own Christianity ever more perfectly Christian in spirit and deed, and to extend that religion through the length and breadth of the lands of the earth. Unmoved by fear or hope of the speedy end of the world, undismayed by any doctrine of the inherent depravity of men or the inherent badness of all non-Christian religions, recognizing in all nations one race of men, it will labor with zeal and with discretion for the promotion of the highest welfare of all and the harmonious relation of all nations.

#### THE RELIGION OF THE SPIRIT

These characteristics we believe may be clearly discerned in the type of Christianity which is now taking form in this country and Europe. But there is one question respecting it that is as yet unanswered. It will be scientific, ethical, practical, and altruistic; will it be religious? Will it perceive that the morality that is to be effective in personal character and the elevation of the community must be deeply rooted in religion? Will it acknowledge that to love one's fellow-men in truth and steadfastness one must live in loving and believing fellowship with God? It is indeed easy to overlook these things. Morality may sever itself from the religion that produced it, and seem for long to suffer nothing in consequence. But the history of religion does not permit us to believe that either religion or morality can continue to flourish alone. Each needs the other for its own best development. The religion of Jesus is profoundly ethical, demanding right motives and right conduct. "He that heareth these words of mine and *doeth* them not is like unto a man that built his house upon the sand." But it is just as deeply religious. The injunction to enter into the closet and pray to the Father who is in secret is as central and as fundamental as the command to love one's neighbor as one's self.

The scientific spirit—absolute loyalty to the teachings of evidence—



is a necessary element of the highest type of religion and morality. This spirit is, as we have already said, central in the teaching of Jesus. No tradition, no scripture even, is authoritative for him against the conclusions demanded by his own insight into the world of present fact. But equally necessary to the highest type of religion is the recognition of the reality of the spiritual and of the possibility of fellowship between man and God. Science and mysticism do not easily blend. The man of science tends to reject the mysterious as unreal; the mystic to thrust aside the scientific as irreligious. But Jesus found a way to blend them, and blend they must if religion is to reach its best development. The new type of Christianity will be scientific; it will be ethical; it will be social and altruistic; will it be religious? It will not be the religion of authority; will it be the religion of the Spirit?

## PETER AND THE KEYS OF THE KINGDOM

CLYDE WEBER VOTAW

The University of Chicago

Peter<sup>1</sup> was the foremost of Jesus' immediate followers. He was one of the first to be called to discipleship.<sup>2</sup> He appears in the gospels as the most earnest, loyal, out-spoken, active, and helpful apostle. They always name him first in any group where he is present;<sup>3</sup> he heads the roll of the apostles in all four places where the list is given;<sup>4</sup> he is the spokesman or hero of various occasions;<sup>5</sup> even his momentary lapse at the hearing of Jesus before Caiaphas is told at length in all the gospels;<sup>6</sup> and by the Gospel of Matthew, in the famous passage 16:17-19, he is given a special blessing, honor, position, and authority.

The prominence he gained during the public ministry he maintained during the years that followed, as the Book of Acts and the Epistles of Paul show. He was leader of the group of Christians at Jerusalem in the days after Jesus' crucifixion; he was spokesman to the hearers on the Day of Pentecost; he was preacher to the people

<sup>1</sup> His original Aramaic name was Simeon (Acts 15:14). By this name (Graecized into Simon) he appears in the gospel narratives, e.g., Mark 1:16, 29 f., 36, *et al.* The name Peter is a transliteration of the Greek *Petros*, which is the Greek word corresponding to the Aramaic Cephas (=rock), and both these Greek and Aramaic synonyms are used in the New Testament (Peter in Mark 3:16; 5:37; 8:33; 9:2; Gal. 2:7 f; *et al.*; Cephas in John 1:42; Gal. 1:18; 2:9, 11, 14; I Cor. 9:5, *et al.*). The name Cephas (=Peter) was given by Jesus to Simeon (=Simon) as an additional characterizing name, when he had shown rocklike stability and efficiency as a disciple (Mark 3:16; Matt. 16:17 f.; John 1:42). The gospels therefore speak of him more often as Peter, and the Book of Acts (except at 15:14) uses only this given name. The Gospel of John, in referring to him, generally combines the two names, designating him as Simon Peter (John 6:8, 68; 13:6, 9, 24, 36; 18:10, 15, 25; 20:2, 6; 21:3, 7, 15).

<sup>2</sup> Along with Andrew his brother, and with James and John, who may have been relatives of theirs (Mark 1:16-20).

<sup>3</sup> Mark 1:16, 29, 36; 5:36; 9:2; 13:3; 14:33, *et al.*

<sup>4</sup> Mark 3:16-19; Matt. 10:2-4; Luke 6:14-16; Acts 1:13.

<sup>5</sup> Mark 9:5; 8:33; 10:28; Matt. 14:28-31; 15:15; 16:16-19; 17:24-27; 18:21; 26:33-35; John 13:6-10; 18:10; 21:15-23.

<sup>6</sup> Mark 14:53-72, and the parallel passages.

in the court of the temple; under arrest he was champion of Christianity before the Sanhedrin; he was foremost in the condemnation of Ananias and Sapphira.<sup>7</sup> Moreover, it was he who led in the inspection of Philip's evangelizing work in Samaria; it was he who traveled around Palestine strengthening the groups of Christians in many places; it was he who at Caesarea welcomed to Christianity the gentile Cornelius and his friends, later maintaining at Jerusalem the right and wisdom of this action; it was he whom Agrippa I would have put to death, because of his prominence and activity as a leader of the Christians.<sup>8</sup> Finally, in Paul's Galatian letter we see Peter as the head of the Christian movement in Palestine, superior to James, the local head of the Jerusalem church, in that he was "intrusted with the gospel of the circumcision"; later, because of his leadership and influence, receiving Paul's condemnation for withholding a full fraternity with gentile Christians; while in I Corinthians his name is used as a party watchword, evidently on the ground that he was the foremost of the original apostles and the chief representative of the Jewish branch of Christianity; and Paul refers to his missionary work on behalf of the gospel.<sup>9</sup>

The New Testament therefore makes Peter the most prominent, active, wise, and efficient of the original group of apostles chosen, taught, and trained by Jesus. Paul also is set forth as prominent, active, wise, and efficient, but in another field—he does not divide or dispute with Peter the headship of Palestinian Christianity. They are twin leaders, as it were, of the two great branches of Christianity in the generation following the public ministry of Jesus. It does not seem likely that such deductions from, and modifications of, this canonical picture as historical investigation of the facts may necessitate, will essentially alter this standing and relation of Peter and Paul.

And we need not be surprised that the Christian church, in the centuries which succeeded Peter and Paul, looked back to Peter more than to Paul as the pre-eminent apostle, the one who stood next to

<sup>7</sup> Acts, chaps. 1-5.

<sup>8</sup> Acts, chaps. 8-12. A historical criticism of the narrative in Acts 10:1-11:18 is not here to be entered upon.

<sup>9</sup> Gal. 2:7-9, 11-14; I Cor. 1:12; 9:5.

Jesus in the founding of Christianity. It was true that the great majority of the Christians were gentiles rather than Jews, converts of Paul rather than of Peter. It was true also that the dominant type of Christianity was universalistic rather than particularistic. As regards influence and achievement, Paul measured larger than Peter. As for turning the gospel of Jesus into a world-wide religion, that was Paul's especial service. And the Epistles of Paul, which constitute one-third of the New Testament in bulk, and certainly not less than that amount in value, give us acquaintance with Paul and Paul's message in a remarkably full and accurate way, while we have little or nothing at first hand from Peter. Besides, we are gentiles, and for this reason we are more interested in and appreciative of Paul the apostle of the gentile gospel than we are of Peter the apostle of the Jewish gospel. This is not to say that Paul and Peter were equally great; the judgment of history pronounces Paul the greater of the two, in spiritual insight, in moral courage, in practical wisdom, in Christian theology, in missionary labors, in service to humanity. Yet comparison of "greatness" is difficult, and our information concerning the two men is unequal. It may come about that Peter will be more highly estimated as the history of the period becomes clearer.<sup>10</sup>

Certainly the church tradition of the early centuries, and Roman Catholic ecclesiastical dogma, have put Peter forward. They made him the founder of the church at Rome, the primate of the apostles, the chief authority in the whole Christian movement, the possessor, guardian, and transmitter of Christian truth, the first pope and the one from whom all succeeding heads of the church have derived their position and their power.

But these claims for, and ascriptions to, Peter are not supported either by the New Testament (unless in the passage under consideration), or by much additional evidence from the first and second centuries. The gospels make Peter the foremost of the apostles, as we have seen,

<sup>10</sup> Peter's reputation has suffered much at the hands of the homilists, who refer to him chiefly as a despicable example of impetuosity, over-confidence, fickleness, and denial of Christ. Harnack, *Entstehung und Entwicklung der Kirchenverfassung und des Kirchenrechts in den zwei ersten Jahrhunderten* (1910), S. 6, says: "Protestant exegetes and historians are inclined to underestimate the position of Peter among the Twelve and in the early church."



but they do not assign him any official position or authority above James, John, and the rest. He is "first among equals"—that is, he has a common appointment and service with the other apostles, in which he shows himself superior to them in certain grand qualities of character and efficiency. Perhaps his forwardness was also in part due to superior years, maturity, and experience. The Book of Acts, testifying also to Peter's prominence, makes impossible the view that he had primacy over the other apostles; he is leader, even of the "Twelve," but without distinction of office or authority. In the Galatian Epistle of Paul the same view of Peter is presented; he exerts his influence by conference and example, not by official pronouncement or by the assumption of the right to dictate in the affairs of the Christian movement; he even yields to Paul's argument in behalf of the gentile principle, and concedes to him the gentile field.

As for Peter's connection with the church at Rome, the evidence of the New Testament is negative, but inconclusive.<sup>11</sup> It seems reasonable to hold, from the silence of the Acts and the Pauline epistles, that Peter was not at Rome at any time within the period of history which they cover, namely, as far down as the spring of 63 A.D. He could not then have been the founder of the Christian church at Rome; nor would Paul's relation to that church, which was gentile and Pauline-Christian, admit of the traditional hypothesis that Peter had founded and ministered to this church for twenty-five years before his death. Tradition assigns the death of Peter to the year 68 A.D., but also connects it with the Neronian persecution. This first imperial outbreak against the Christians fell in 64 A.D., and apparently was spasmodic rather than continued. Probably therefore the death of Peter took place in that year rather than as late as the year 68. The death of Paul may also be regarded as one of the violent acts of the same persecution, taking place in the same year, and both of them at Rome. In that case Peter may have been at Rome for a year before his martyr death there, but not until Paul's connection with the church had been established by his two years' residence in Rome, and the

<sup>11</sup>The term "Babylon" in I Pet. 5:12 quite surely refers to the city of Rome, and may indicate that this epistle was written at Rome. But much doubt exists as to the authorship of the letter.

evangelizing activity which was permitted him under mild bonds. Peter could not then have been very much to the Roman church by reason of a personal ministry to it.<sup>12</sup>

In fact, one wonders whether the common opinion of scholars in favor of Peter's ministry at Rome will stand. It is vigorously and forcibly controverted.<sup>13</sup> The advocates of this view have not yet furnished a satisfactory explanation of how Peter came to go to Rome.<sup>14</sup> One would not, from the New Testament indications, expect him to do so. His field was Palestine, his work among Jews;<sup>15</sup> Rome and the gentile Christians of that city belonged to Paul's field.<sup>16</sup> Peter had yielded to facts and arguments in behalf of the admission of gentiles to Christianity without obedience to the Jewish ritual law; but he was not of a mind to preach such a gospel himself, or to carry on a mission with or among those who insisted upon such a disregard of the Jewish law. It seems highly improbable, therefore, that Peter should have undertaken work in connection with the Roman church.<sup>17</sup> The same impulse that led later Christians to assume Peter's planting and headship of the church at Rome may have created the assumption that he went to Rome; obviously he would have to

<sup>12</sup> So great is the difficulty with the tradition at this point that McGiffert, *American Journal of Theology*, I, 145-57, argues for the death of Paul in 58 A.D., in order that Peter may have *six years* for his ministry to the church at Rome, holding that he could not have had such relationship to the church until after Paul was removed. But there are many difficulties with moving back Paul's death to so early a date, and Peter's presence in Rome is not so sure a datum as to require the readjustment of dates for the life of Paul in accordance with it.

<sup>13</sup> See especially Schmiedel, art. "Simon Peter," in the *Encyclopedia Biblica*.

<sup>14</sup> Chase, Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, art. "Peter," thinks Paul invited Peter to come to Rome and carry on work there. The explanation seems to be gratuitous and improbable; Paul shows no such inclination to secure Peter's co-operation in his own churches, and never indicates that Peter adopted his principle of entire fraternity between Jewish Christians and gentile Christians in the churches (Gal. 2:11-14). If he did not, Peter was not qualified to act as head of a gentile-Christian church, at Rome or elsewhere. Assuming the traditional view that Peter wrote the canonical First Epistle of Peter, we would have proof that Peter became thoroughly Paulinized in point of view, spirit, and doctrine, that he at least wrote a letter to churches in the Pauline field, and perhaps that he visited Rome. But the Petrine authorship of First Peter is beset with difficulties.

<sup>15</sup> Gal. 2:7-9.

<sup>16</sup> Rom. 1:13; 15:20-29.

<sup>17</sup> McGiffert, *op. cit.*, thinks we cannot doubt Peter's ministry to the church at Rome because the tradition to this effect is so strong.

be there if he was to found the church and minister to it for the last twenty-five years of his life.<sup>18</sup>

This impulse to elevate Peter was ecclesiastical. The organization of the Christian movement developed slowly. Jesus did not dictate, or even suggest, to his followers any formal organization. Even the apostles, when the number of Christians was increasing and groups were arising in many localities, seem not to have pursued a systematic formal method in organizing the groups. The first Christians, being Jews, cared for no elaborate or rigid form of organization; and they naturally adopted for their churches, with more or less modification, some of the features of administration which were in vogue in the Jewish synagogues. The synagogue employed a very simple, democratic, practical form of organization, providing only for the necessary supervision and care of the community affairs. The early Christian churches in Palestine needed little in the way of formal officers; and we are not sure how soon they established the office of "elder," which was perhaps their first step toward organization.<sup>19</sup> The presence of the apostles, and of the brothers of Jesus,<sup>20</sup> supplied them for a time with general leaders; and these were accepted as such without formal election to any set office.

The gentile churches were less well provided with informal leaders, Paul being the only one that in this respect quite paralleled the original apostles in Palestine. Yet none of Paul's epistles until Philippians in 62 or 63 A.D. makes specific mention of formal officers.<sup>21</sup> It is surprising, from our point of view, that the churches could get along

<sup>18</sup> The customary way of putting this matter is, that the later Christians would not have alleged that Peter founded and ministered to the Roman church if he had not actually been at Rome and had not actually rendered some important service to the church. But church traditions did not always rest upon historical facts; they sometimes rested upon presuppositions of an ecclesiastical, doctrinal, or apologetic nature.

<sup>19</sup> Acts 11:30; 15:2, 4, 6, 22 refer to "elders" at Jerusalem. It is possible that this term refers to the elder members of the church (as could be read in 15:22) rather than to formal officers; or that by an anachronism the formal office of elder was assumed for this earliest period of the church. The Book of Acts makes no mention of "deacons" in the churches, but 6:1-6 shows that the Jerusalem church at one time appointed seven men to look after the care of the needy members. See esp. Harnack, *op. cit.*, S. 12-28.

<sup>20</sup> Acts 1:14; 15:3 (this James being the brother of Jesus, as in Gal. 1:19; 2:9, 12).

<sup>21</sup> Phil. 1:1 speaks of "bishops and deacons," from which it is generally understood that these two formal offices existed in the church at Philippi just before the death



even for a time without such. Not many decades passed until an organization was developed. These gentile churches, outside of Palestine, did not copy their organization from the Palestinian churches but may have been influenced by them, and also by the type of synagogue organization which was to be found in almost every gentile city where Christian churches were founded. Further, the Christian organization was influenced by the methods customary in the civic and religious organizations of the Graeco-Roman world. Perhaps at the start this Graeco-Roman influence was secondary; but in time it was certain to become primary. Churches made up of gentiles would come to follow gentile models in their type of institution and administration.

The type of political organization then dominant and absorbing was monarchical. The Roman republic had given way to the Roman empire, the democracy of the Roman government was succumbing to the imperial spirit and control, the law tended to adopt the military type of administration which had proved so effective in building up the power of Rome. The Christian church, even though it had wished to do so, could not have resisted the dominant trend in organization. Nor is there evidence that the church desired or attempted resistance. Rather, it was swept along by the current tide to the gradual assumption of a monarchical type of organization. Early in the second century we see unmistakable evidences that the church is to develop into an elaborate, rigidly fashioned institution.<sup>22</sup> The ecclesiastical consciousness and impulse became manifest. The memorabilia of Jesus' ministry were interpreted to meet this new need and aim. That Jesus should have foreseen and arranged for such an organization of his followers seemed to them likely. That he appointed and empowered someone to be the head and administrator of this church seemed to them probable, or at least desirable. Who should this be but Peter, his chief apostle?

of Paul. This interpretation has been questioned by some; see Lindsay, *The Church and the Ministry in the Early Centuries*. The lists of the spiritual gifts in I Cor. 12:8-10, 28-30 contain reference to the various kinds of helpful activities in his churches, but do not seem to name any formal offices—the nearest to this are the “helps and governments.”

<sup>22</sup> See the Epistles of Polycarp and Ignatius, the Epistles to Timothy and Titus, and the Teaching of the Twelve Apostles.



And what church should be the head and front of this great ecclesiastical organization but the church at Rome? For Rome was the capital of the empire, and the chief church of Christendom must be in the chief city.

Jerusalem could not serve as the center of Christianity for seven distinct reasons: (1) it was not geographically central for the Mediterranean world; (2) it was intensely Jewish, and was therefore despised by the gentiles; (3) gentiles who became Christians would hardly think better of Jerusalem, for its leading men had crucified Christ;<sup>23</sup> (4) the church at Jerusalem was the "mother church" for Jewish Christianity, but not for gentile Christianity; so far as there was a "mother church" of gentile Christianity, it was the church at Antioch; but that was only at the beginning of Paul's ministry—the churches of Asia, Macedonia, Achaia, and Italy never had any relations of dependence, affiliation, or special reverence for the church at Antioch; all Paul's churches were independent churches—he did not co-ordinate them, or teach them to look upon any one church as superior or authoritative over the others; (5) Paul claimed and dominated the gentile field—neither the original apostles nor the Jerusalem church were allowed to occupy this territory; the efforts made in Paul's churches by the Judaizing Christian teachers, whose strength lay chiefly in their Judean support, were defeated by Paul's vigorous resistance; (6) Paul considered, doubtless rightly, that the church at Rome belonged to his field, and that it would logically be the most important church of the Mediterranean world because of its location at the capital of the empire; therefore he had "oftentimes purposed to go thither," but felt that he must evangelize the provinces as they came, between Palestine and Italy;<sup>24</sup> (7) neither the Jerusalem church nor the original apostles interpreted Christianity in a way that qualified it for success among all the peoples of the empire; such success required that Christianity be spiritual and universalistic in its scope.

<sup>23</sup> 1 Thess. 2:14-16, "For ye, brethren, became imitators of the churches of God which are in Judea in Christ Jesus; for ye also suffered the same things of your own countrymen, even as they did of the Jews; who both killed the Lord Jesus and the prophets, and drove out us, and please not God, and are contrary to all men; forbidding us to speak to the gentiles that they may be saved."

<sup>24</sup> "So that from Jerusalem, and round about even unto Illyricum, I have fully preached the gospel of Christ," Rom. 15:19.

doctrine, and method; even Peter could not have given the right point of view and direction to the Christian church at Rome.

But if the church at Rome belonged to Paul's field, and was Pauline in tone, and received Paul's supervision and ministry during two of the latest years of his life, how did it happen in tradition that Peter, not Paul, came to be regarded as the founder and head of this church?

The facts may have been something like this: (1) Paul's personal connection with the church at Rome came late; this church had been going on for years before he came to it, had developed strong local leaders, and had acquired numbers and momentum; it was thus in a position of independence toward any apostolic leader—Paul or other—and sufficient unto itself for the carrying forward of its work as the church at the imperial capital; (2) Paul did not obtain or even assume the same kind of headship over the Roman church that he held over the churches in the eastern provinces—partly for the reason just indicated, but partly also because his limitations as a prisoner during the two years of his residence at Rome made it impossible for him to exert a full personal influence and do a full work in the church there; (3) Paul did not construct a formal organization of his churches, but depended upon a spirit of brotherhood to hold them together; even in the local church he perhaps did not establish formal officers to give strength and effectiveness to the group; but experience showed the Christians that a more formal, comprehensive, and vigorous organization of the Christian movement was necessary to self-preservation against the governmental persecution that grew deliberate, continuous, and systematic in the reigns of Domitian and Trajan, at the end of the first and the beginning of the second centuries A.D.; naturally the type of organization adopted and put into effect for the Christian church would correspond to the political organization of the empire—the monarchical type; (4) in the second century, when the Christian church came to single out from the past some one great personage to be regarded as the prototype of its church leaders, the founder of its primary church, the representative of Christ on earth, the collective Christian judgment passed by Paul and settled upon Peter; this was partly because Paul was regarded as not sufficiently conservative—he was radical, innovating, aggressive, individual; they felt they needed as an ideal and model for the whole church an apostle of a

more moderate and conservative type; and it was partly because Paul in a historical sense was not sufficiently close to Jesus, the founder of Christianity; he was not one of the original apostles, which meant that he had not been as obviously selected and appointed to his apostleship<sup>25</sup> as was the case with Peter; further, he had not accompanied Jesus in his ministry and learned his gospel directly from Jesus, as Peter had done; and lastly, among the Judean Christians some of them denounced, others held aloof from Paul, and he carried on a polemic against them—all of which created the general feeling that Paul was not as original, representative, safe, and desirable a personage as Peter for elevation to the headship of the church on earth.

Thus, perhaps, it came about that Peter was given a superior place to Paul in the later esteem of the Christian church, and in the rise and growth of ecclesiastical organization was assigned to the supreme position in the church by making him founder and for twenty-five years head of the church at Rome. This elevation of Peter by Christian tradition was not primarily due to the presence and activity of Peter at Rome in the year or years just preceding his martyrdom; he may or may not have been there—it seems likely that the tradition associating him with the Roman church would have arisen independently of his actual presence there. Primarily the tradition was due to the need felt for connecting the ecclesiastical organization as directly, closely, and strongly as possible with Jesus himself, and so with the supreme author and authority of Christianity. Jesus' chief apostle—Peter, selected, appointed, taught, trained, and authorized immediately by Jesus, seemed quite the most satisfactory figure for the "first Pope." Later it came to be assumed that the plans of and in-

<sup>25</sup> Paul stoutly claimed to be an apostle with the full function and authority appertaining thereto. Gal. 1:1 presents his solemn affirmation of this claim. Gal., chaps. 1, 2, argue this claim. I Cor. 1:1; II Cor. 1:1; Rom. 1:1; Col. 1:1; Eph. 1:1 reiterate the claim. I Cor. 9:1f. asserts his apostleship against the specific denial of it by his Corinthian opponents: "Am I not free? am I not an apostle? have I not seen Jesus our Lord? are ye not my work in the Lord? If to others I am not an apostle, yet at least I am to you; for the seal of mine apostleship are ye in the Lord." It is clear that Paul felt surer of his apostleship than anyone else, for even his own converts were influenced by the arguments of Paul's adversaries against his claim to be an apostle. One whose apostleship was strenuously disputed, even Paul, was put at a great disadvantage when it came to choosing an original head for the church at Rome and for the entire Christian church.



junction for this great monarchical institution of the church originated with Jesus, in a definite provision by him for the organization of his followers; and that he formally appointed Peter, his chief apostle, to communicate it and put it into effect for the whole church. The ecclesiastical instincts, impulses, and ideas which gave rise to the Peter tradition, with considerable disregard of the historical facts about him, and with some reduction of the honor due the apostle Paul, are akin to the ecclesiastical instincts, impulses, and ideas which have operated in the Christian church through the centuries until the present time, and are now operative.

The canonical gospels contain but scanty allusions to the rise of the ecclesiastical spirit among the Christians and the growth of formal church organization. For one thing, the gospels arose too early to reflect much of this new development in the Christian movement. Even if the gospels of Matthew, Luke, and John be assigned to a period as late as the beginning of the second century, this would enable them to show no more than the trend and first aspects of ecclesiasticism. The type of Christian organization with which we are familiar in the Roman Catholic church was centuries in maturing—the first and second centuries produced only the elementary stages of it. For another thing, the Synoptic Gospels<sup>26</sup> present not chronicles of events but memorabilia of the public ministry of Jesus from a time forty to eighty years after. These memorabilia were collected and published with a homiletical and evangelizing rather than a historical purpose; they were selected, arranged, and more or less adapted to promote the gospel in the period when they were written; they took on some of the color, some of the interpretation, some of the point of view, some of the special ideas that belonged to the later time. Nevertheless, these gospels reflect in the main faithfully and trustworthily Jesus' words, ideas, and deeds in the years 28–30 A.D.<sup>27</sup> They have perpetuated the story of Jesus sub-

<sup>26</sup> Written within the period, 65–110 A.D.

<sup>27</sup> Approximately these years, for the exact dates and duration of the public ministry of Jesus are still uncertain. The year 29 A.D. for the crucifixion of Jesus, which found some favor a decade ago (so e.g., O. Holtzmann, in his *Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte*, 1. Aufl.; Turner in his article "Chronology of the New Testament" in *Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible*; Sanday in his article "Jesus Christ" in the same work), has not established itself, and Holtzmann in the second edition of his work returned to the commonly accepted year 30 A.D. for the event.

stantially in accordance with the original facts; not out of a chronicling intent or disposition on the part of the evangelists, but out of a simple confidence in, devotion to, and use of, the practically helpful material which Jesus had produced for religion and morality, and which his followers reproduced for the good of men in their own generations.

The Gospel of Matthew, more than the others, gives some indication of the ecclesiastical spirit, impulse, and achievement at the time when it arose—in the closing years of the first or the opening years of the second century. The book has an ecclesiastical interest and purpose, but of a minor sort. This feature of the book is not abundant or prominent, the two more striking and detailed passages being 16:17-19; 18:15-20.<sup>28</sup> They deal with the organized unity of the church under a single official, authoritative head, and the discipline of church members. They do not touch upon the kind or number of local church officers, the conditions of membership, or the interrelation of the single churches and the provincial groups of churches. The Gospel of Matthew also presents and promulgates for the world-wide mission of Christianity the rite of baptism, and the trinitarian formula to be used in connection therewith;<sup>29</sup> but it does not specifically show how this rite was understood and practiced within the local churches. The Sermon on the Mount<sup>30</sup> sets forth with deliber-

<sup>28</sup> The former passage reads: "And Jesus answered and said unto him, Blessed art thou, Simon Bar-Jonah: for flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father who is in heaven. And I also say unto thee, that thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church; and the gates of Hades shall not prevail against it. I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven."

The latter passage: "And if thy brother sin against thee, go, show him his fault between thee and him alone: if he hear thee, thou hast gained thy brother. But if he hear thee not, take with thee one or two more, that at the mouth of two witnesses or three every word may be established. And if he refuse to hear them, tell it unto the church: and if he refuse to hear the church also, let him be unto thee as the gentile and the publican. Verily I say unto you, What things soever ye shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven; and what things soever ye shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven. Again I say unto you, that if two of you shall agree on earth as touching anything that they shall ask, it shall be done for them of my Father who is in heaven. For where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them."

<sup>29</sup> Matt. 28:19.

<sup>30</sup> Matt., chaps. 5-7.

ate system and fulness the teachings of Jesus which furnished the working ideal and principles of the Christian life, in a kind of charter or textbook on conduct for the church, viewed in some sense as the "New Law" that fulfils and supersedes the Old Law; but it is remarkable how little has been modified or added by way of interpretation or adaptation,<sup>31</sup> and how inconspicuous and indefinite the ecclesiastical intent is. The Mission Teaching,<sup>32</sup> gathered into a single discourse from various parts of Jesus' ministry, is grouped and presented in a way to be practically useful in the evangelizing activities of the church. The Forgiveness Teaching<sup>33</sup> is adduced in a way to promote this essential quality and act of love in the Christian communities which the Gospel of Matthew would reach. And the arraignment of the sins of the scribes and Pharisees, elaborately and vehemently worked out,<sup>34</sup> was by no means retrospective in primary intent, but for the condemnation and removal of similar sins among the Christians of the author's own day.<sup>35</sup>

But how can one wonder that the gospel memorabilia were turned to account for everyday practical use? The pragmatic impulse and purpose are always dominant in the ways of men. And it is doubtful whether the Christians would have had sufficient historical interest to preserve the story of Jesus, if they had not found it homiletically valuable, morally and religiously enlightening and impelling. The remarkable thing is that these later Christians did not more completely eliminate the (to them) useless, and more completely transmute the original sayings into accord with current thought, expression, and atmosphere.

The Matthew passage concerning Peter and the Keys of the Kingdom is the most distinct and striking—very likely also the most recent and most advanced—feature in the ecclesiasticism of this gospel. One might not have supposed that the primacy of Peter over the whole church would have come to clear conception and expression at so

<sup>31</sup> Probably 5:18, 19 is an instance, and 7:21-23; possibly 6:34 and 7:6. Pfeiderer (*Primitive Christianity*, II, 319 f., 326) holds that the Beatitudes and the Lord's Prayer as they appear in Matthew have been reworked and reinterpreted for church use, besides various other sayings in chaps. 5-7.

<sup>32</sup> Matt., chap. 10.

<sup>33</sup> Matt. 18:21-35.

<sup>34</sup> Matt., chap. 23.

<sup>35</sup> For a more vigorous and thoroughgoing statement of this general view see Pfeiderer, *Primitive Christianity*, II, 379-82.



early a date as that at which the Gospel of Matthew was written—in the decade or two before or after 100 A.D.<sup>36</sup> Perhaps the lack of supporting evidence ought to convince us that this passage (16:17-19) did not belong to the Gospel of Matthew as originally written, but was added at this point in a later period. Yet it is quite possible, so considerable were the changes within two generations after the death of Paul and Peter, that the idea of making Peter the supreme head of the whole church may have arisen thus early. It is to be observed that our Matthew passage knows nothing of the later assumption that Peter was founder and head of the church at Rome, from which position of prominence and power he was advanced to the primacy of the entire church. The Peter tradition of the Roman Catholic church appears here in a simple primitive form.

The idea of Peter elsewhere in the New Testament does not correspond with that contained in Matt. 16:17-19.<sup>37</sup> Nowhere else is it said that Peter required or received a special divine revelation to inform or convince him of the Messiahship of Jesus. Nowhere else is Peter accorded a supernatural call, after the manner of Jesus himself<sup>38</sup> and of Paul,<sup>39</sup> to a unique position and work.<sup>40</sup> Nowhere else is Peter made the foundation of the church; on the contrary,

<sup>36</sup> Compare Pfeleiderer (*op. cit.*, II, 352): "Of the position of commanding authority such as is ascribed to Peter in this passage of Matthew there is no trace in early Christian literature up to the middle of the second century; but in the Clementine Homilies, which date from that period, Peter is exalted in just this fashion. Therefore, in Matt 16:18f., what we are to recognize is precisely the *first expression of the specifically Catholic self-consciousness of the church*, which toward the middle of the second century began to consolidate itself under the watchwords 'Peter' or—what comes practically to the same thing—the 'New Law.'"

<sup>37</sup> The three verses belong together. Vs. 17 indicates that Peter had received a special revelation—one that had come to him alone—which qualified him for the supreme office of head of Christ's church on earth (vss. 18, 19).

<sup>38</sup> Mark 1:10 f.

<sup>39</sup> Acts 9:1-19; 22:6-16; 26:12-18; Gal. 1:15 f.

<sup>40</sup> But in Acts 10:1-11:18 is a conspicuous account of how Peter was given a special divine revelation that gentiles were not to be debarred from entrance into Christianity by reason of their disregard of the Jewish ritual law. This supplies Peter with precedence of Paul in the discovery, application, and defense of the gentile principle, which the Pauline Epistles seem to indicate as Paul's original and peculiar contribution to the mission problems of primitive Christianity. It may be that this special Acts narrative shows one of the legendary steps by which the exaltation of Peter to the unique honor of Matt. 16:17-19 was achieved.

in various passages Christ is named as the foundation or cornerstone.<sup>41</sup> Nowhere else is Peter made the steward of the church on earth, with exclusive authority to permit and forbid.<sup>42</sup> Outside of this peculiar Matthew passage Peter appears in the New Testament as doing the work of an apostle without special commission, office, or authority, a natural and efficient leader among the Christians on a common plane with James, John, Paul, and the others.

There is no parallel for Matt. 16:17-19 in the other gospels. Yet both Mark and Luke have the full context, preceding and following these verses, and the relationship between the three parallel accounts is close. Probably the author of the First Gospel derived from the Second Gospel this narrative, and inserted at the logical point therein this special feature. The three verses constitute one of Matthew's conspicuous additions to the material of the "triple tradition." The omission of these significant verses from two of the three gospel accounts of Jesus' vital conversation with his disciples in the region of Caesarea Philippi could not well be explained if they were originally from Jesus in that connection.

Moreover, they are out of accord with Jesus' thought. Whether he positively and certainly anticipated a speedy establishment of the Kingdom of God or held an indefinite view of the future, he did not provide for any formal organization of his followers into a church, or set up one of them as an official supreme over the others. The term "church" (*ἐκκλησία*) appears in the gospels only here and in the corresponding verse;<sup>43</sup> it can scarcely be understood in any

<sup>41</sup> So Paul, in I Cor. 3:11: "For other foundation can no man lay than that which is laid, which is Jesus Christ" (Matt. 21:42-44; Acts 4:11; I Pet. 2:6, 7). In Eph. 2:20 "the apostles and prophets" are said to be the foundation (cf. I Cor. 12:28—evidently it is the *Christian* prophets, not the Old Testament prophets, that are meant), "Christ Jesus himself being the chief cornerstone." Even in so late an epistle as Ephesians (possibly post-Pauline), Peter is not yet singled out from the other apostles to be made alone the foundation. The Gospel of Matthew cannot well be interpreted at 16:17-19 to mean that the special honor and function assigned to Peter was understood to be equally assigned to the other eleven apostles, Peter being only regarded and dealt with as a representative of the entire group.

<sup>42</sup> The kindred passage in Matt. 18:18 assigns the power of "binding and loosing" to an indefinite number of Christians, perhaps to all members of the church collectively. At John 20:23, in a post-resurrection narrative, the forgiveness or retention of sins is assigned to the group of apostles.

<sup>43</sup> Matt. 16:18; 18:17.



other than the formal collective sense, connoting the formal organization of Christian believers.<sup>44</sup>

The situation with which our Matthew verses are connected is the familiar one in the region of Caesarea Philippi. Jesus had withdrawn from Galilee; the disappointed multitudes no longer heard him gladly because he would not fulfil or even encourage their mistaken Messianic expectations. Jesus was uncertain whether the popular defection would not also sweep away even his closest disciples.<sup>45</sup> It was with solicitude that he inquired of the Twelve, when he now had them by themselves far away from the Galilean multitude, what their idea of him was—whether they, in contrast with the people generally, still regarded him as the Messiah. Peter's prompt and sure reply, "Thou art the Messiah," was the answer that Jesus earnestly desired to hear. Peter had proved his faith, spiritual insight, moral judgment, personal loyalty, and practical efficiency as a disciple by this firm, clear stand on the main question of supporting Jesus and his ministry. His confession and attitude were no less satisfying if they were anticipated by Jesus, who had carefully instructed and trained the Twelve and knew Peter well.

At this point some expression from Jesus of his approval and appreciation of Peter's steadfastness would not have been amiss, although the Mark and Luke accounts give no indication that such words were spoken. If there were words of Jesus to this effect, they may have formed the basis upon which Matt. 16:17-19 historically rested. Or, the rising Peter tradition may have considered this passage an ideal point of attachment (as indeed it was) for its special doctrine. The persistent effort of commentators to give these additional verses in the Matthew account a minimum interpretation, in order that they may be regarded as original with Jesus, cannot be pronounced successful; such interpretation requires the washing-out of the salient features of the passage.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>44</sup> As Paul uses it, Gal. 1:13; I Cor. 10:32; 12:28. Also the Acts, 2:47; 8:3; 20:28. Compare Eph. 1:22; 3:10; 5:23-32; I Tim. 3:5.

<sup>45</sup> The Gospel of John, 6:66-69, pictures this situation more explicitly (perhaps less exactly?) than the Synoptics: "Upon this many of his disciples went back, and walked no more with him. Jesus said therefore unto the twelve, Would ye also go away? Simon Peter answered him, Lord, to whom shall we go? thou hast the words of eternal life."

<sup>46</sup> This seems particularly the case with the interpretation by O. Holtzmann, *Leben Jesu*, S. 265 f. (Eng. trans., 328-30), who accepts Matt. 16:17-19 as coming

The purport of Matt. 16:17-19 may, then, be stated as follows: Jesus pronounces a divine blessing upon Peter because he is the first of all his followers to affirm positively and heartily his continued belief in Jesus' messiahship, at a time when the scribes and Pharisees were denying it and the common people were in perplexing, disheartening doubt. Jesus further says that Peter had received this truth by special revelation from God himself. Thereby Peter is qualified, called, and appointed to be the foundation of Christ's church—the formal organization of his followers on earth, for the perpetuation and spread of his mission. Peter is assigned this supreme function because he is one whose belief and loyalty should be counted typical. This church on earth will triumph, however unpromising its future might now seem. With a shifting of the building figure, Peter is then made to be the steward of this church on earth; in this connection "the keys of the kingdom of heaven" can only mean the supervision of the affairs of the kingdom of heaven in the present earthly stage of its progress, otherwise the phrase would involve the ascription to Peter of eschatological functions—an idea the passage does not intend.<sup>47</sup> In the exercise of this stewardship Peter's decisions, it is affirmed, will be ratified by God—what he permits and what he forbids will be permitted and forbidden by divine decree; which probably means that Peter is to be the administrator of the government and discipline—perhaps also of the personnel and teaching—of the church.

This passage in Matthew,<sup>48</sup> so understood, is probably to be regarded, not as an utterance of Jesus, but as an expression of the

from Jesus. To the contrary, Allen, *Commentary on Matthew*, 179: "It is difficult not to be drawn to the conclusion that the whole of the passage, vss. 17-19 . . . is the work of the evangelist. The motive must have been to emphasize the prominence of S. Peter in the Christian body as foretold and sanctioned by Jesus himself."

<sup>47</sup> The forgiving and retaining of sins, which would be an eschatological prerogative, is probably not to be understood as belonging to the thought of this passage, although in Matt. 18:18 the association of the "binding and loosing" prerogative with forgiveness teaching seems to imply that meaning for the parallel saying there.

<sup>48</sup> Recent important discussions of the interpretation of Matt. 16:17-19 may be read in Harnack, *Entstehung und Entwicklung der Kirchenverfassung und des Kirchenrechts in den zwei ersten Jahrhunderten* (1910), S. 1-7; Allen, *Commentary on Matthew* (1907), 175-80; Plummer, *Commentary on Matthew* (1909), 226-31; Loisy, *Les évangiles synoptiques* (1908), II, 5-15; Guiguebert, *La primauté de Pierre*

developing ecclesiastical impulse and purpose of the Christian church at about 100 A.D., and marks one of the earliest stages in the growth of that particular type of church organization which we know as Roman Catholicism.

*et la venue de Pierre à Rome* (1909); J. Weiss, *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments* (2te Aufl., 1906), S. 319-21; Wellhausen, *Das Evangelium Matthaei* (1904), S. 84, 85; Zahn, *Das Evangelium des Matthäus* (1903), S. 536-48; Schmiedel, art. "Simon Peter" in *Encyclopædia Biblica* (1903); H. J. Holtzmann, *Die Synoptiker* (3te Aufl., 1901), S. 257-59; Chase, art. "Peter" in *Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible* (1901), III, 759 f.; B. Weiss, *Das Matthäus-Evangelium* (Meyer Kommentar, 7te Aufl., 1898), S. 295-300; Hort, *The Christian Ecclesia* (1898), 8-21; Pfeiderer, *Das Urchristentum* (2te Aufl., 1904), I, 582-85, 604-5 (Eng. trans., *Primitive Christianity*, II, 349-52, 379-82); Wendt, *Die Lehre Jesu* (2te Aufl., 1900), S. 153, 398, 585-90 (Eng. trans., II, 351-57); Resch, *Aussercanonische Paralltexte zu den Evangelien* (1894), II, 187-96; Lightfoot, *Clement* (1869), II, 481-90.

## THE CULT OF THE MOTHER-GODDESS IN ANCIENT PALESTINE

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The primitive Semitic race from which the Arabs, Ethiopians, Canaanites, Hebrews, Aramacans, Assyrians, and Babylonians were descended dwelt in the great desert of central Arabia. This region was covered with bare mountains of volcanic rock interspersed with plains of arid gravel. The rain-fall was so slight that only the scantiest vegetation could exist and agriculture was impossible. Here and there springs were found, and near these the date-palm grew, and camels, goats, and sheep could be bred. Life depended upon the holding of an oasis where water could be obtained for man and beast and for the irrigation of the beneficent date-palm. Without organization the holding of such an oasis against enemies was impossible, hence from the earliest times the Semites formed themselves into clans, whose size was conditioned by the extent of the water supply.

There is abundant evidence that these clans, like those of many other primitive peoples, were originally organized on a matriarchal basis. Marriage was a temporary union, during which the man left his own tribe and entered that of the woman. Marriages of this sort, which were called *mot'a* were common in ancient Arabia and are often mentioned by the early pre-Muhammadan poets. According to the *Kitāb al-Aghāni* (xvi. 106), women divorced their husbands by turning their tents around. When the man saw this, he knew that he was dismissed and did not enter. Ammianus Marcellinus (xiv. 4) says of the Arabs, that marriage is a temporary contract, for which the wife receives a price. She gives the man a spear and a tent as dowry. When the term of the contract has expired, she is free to dismiss him. In the Old Testament survivals of this sort of marriage are seen in Delilah, who, although married to Samson, remained among the Philistines, and in the Canaanite wife of Gideon, who stayed among her own people in Shechem. The ancient formula, "for this cause



shall a man leave his father and mother and cleave unto his wife," also presupposes a state of society in which a man abandons his own clan and enters that of his wife. The phrase "go in unto," that is, "enter the wife's clan," is also a survival from the matriarchal age.

When the woman remained in her own tribe and the man only "came in" unto her for a season, the children, of course, belonged to their mother's family, and descent was reckoned entirely through the mother. Matronymic clans such as Sarah, Zilpah, Dinah, Bilhah, were common among all the Semites, and in poetry tribes were habitually personified in the feminine. Clans thus organized were made up of mothers, together with their brothers and children. The fathers were men of other tribes who returned to their own people when the temporary union with the mothers was terminated. The mother was thus naturally the head of the clan, its leader in peace and in war.

In such a society the chief deity of the clan could not by any possibility be conceived as masculine, but must be the analogue of the human matriarch. Male divinities might exist and be known as "husband," "maternal uncle," or "son," but they would not be called "father," and would play so unimportant a part that they would survive only sporadically in later religion. The one divinity that is found in all branches of the Semitic race is the mother-goddess 'Ashtart, the 'Ashtoreth of the Old Testament, and the Astarte of the Greeks. In South Arabia she appears as 'Athtar, in Ethiopia as 'Astar, in Moab as 'Ashtar, in Phoenicia as 'Ashtart, in Syria as 'Attar, and in Assyria and Babylonia as Ishtar. The fact that her name makes all the proper phonetic changes in passing from one dialect to another proves that it is primitive Semitic and that she is the most ancient of the greater Semitic divinities. All the traits in her character which are oldest and most permanent in the Semitic religions are those which for other reasons we must predicate of the ancient Semitic tribal mother.

1. She is the goddess of untrammelled sexual love. In the Eabani episode of the Gilgamesh Epic, one of the earliest monuments of Babylonian literature, she is represented as forming numerous temporary marriage unions that bring mischief to her suitors. In another epic fragment, the "Descent to Hades," sexual relations

among men and animals cease the moment she enters the under-world. Prostitution as a religious rite in her service is attested in Babylonia, Syria, Arabia, Canaan, Phoenicia, and the Phoenician colonies. In this aspect she is clearly a counterpart of the ancient Semitic woman, who bestowed her love upon men of other and often hostile tribes, who was courted at the risk of life, and who had frequent occasion to bewail the death of some Adonis.

2. 'Ashtart is the goddess of maternity and fertility. With her is associated her son Tamuz. In early Babylonian art she is represented, like the Madonna, bearing a child on her left arm, which she suckles at her breast, while with her right hand she caresses or blesses it. In Arabia and in the Phoenician colonies she is similarly represented. In this aspect also she is the counterpart of the ancient Semitic woman, the fruitful mother of the children of her clan.

3. 'Ashtart is a war-goddess. In Babylonian art she is often depicted full-armed standing on a leopard or a lion. In a Babylonian hymn she says of herself "Into battle I fly like a swallow." To the Assyrian king Ashurbanipal she appears in a dream, robed in flames, with quivers on the right hand and on the left, a bow in her left hand, while with her right she draws a sword out of its sheath. The Canaanite 'Ashtart is often described in the Egyptian monuments as a war-goddess, and the armor of Saul was placed as a trophy in the temple of the Philistine 'Ashtart (I Sam. 31:10). Her statue at Cythera, a Phoenician colony, was full-armed, and the armed Aphrodite and armed Venus of Graeco-Roman art were only perpetuations of Phoenician types. This warlike character of 'Ashtart, which stands in marked contrast to her maternal character, finds a natural explanation in the analogy of the ancient Semitic matriarch, who was not only the mother of her tribe, but, like Deborah among the Hebrews, and numerous queens among the Arabs, its leader in battle.

Much new light has been thrown upon the cult of this ancient Semitic goddess by recent excavations in Palestine. Between 1890 and 1893 the mound of Tell el-Hesi, the biblical Lachish, was explored by Professor Flinders Petrie and Dr. Frederick J. Bliss in the service of the Palestine Exploration Fund. In 1898 exploratory trenches were run by the same society into the mounds of Tell Zakariyâ, Tell Jedeideh, Tell Sandahannah, and Tell eş-Şâfi. Since 1902



Mr. R. A. Stewart Macalister has been excavating the huge mound of Jezer, the biblical Gezer, about half-way between Jaffa and Jerusalem. In 1902-3 Tell Ta'annak, the site of the biblical Taanach, was explored by the Austrians under the leadership of Professor Sellin, and in 1903-5 Tell el-Mutesellim, the site of the biblical Megiddo, was investigated by Dr. Schumacher for the German Palestine Society. These excavations have been particularly fruitful in reveal-



FIG. 1



FIG. 2

## BRONZE IMAGES OF 'ASHTART

ing the life of ancient Canaan from about 3500 B.C. down to the occupation of this country by the Hebrews. Let us now see what information these researches yield in regard to the mother-goddess 'Ashtart.

In the pre-Israelite levels of all the mounds, extending from about 2500 B.C. down to about 1200 B.C., a large number of terracotta plaques have been discovered representing the nude figure of the goddess. These plaques show the influence that Egypt exerted upon both the art and the religion of early Palestine. Bronze figures of the goddess, belonging to a rather later period, are also found in large

numbers in all parts of the land. Fig. 2 is a small statuette from Gezer, which is remarkable on account of the ram-like horns that protrude from the head. This may throw some light on the name 'Ashtarothe Karnaim, or "two-horned 'Ashtarts," in the Old Testament. Fig. 1 was discovered in the Lebanon by Rev. Mr. Bird. No other images, except of Egyptian divinities, have been found in the lower levels of the mounds of Palestine, and this seems to indicate that 'Ashtart remained the principal, although not the exclusive deity of the ancient Canaanites, as of their primitive Semitic forefathers.



*Palestine Exploration Fund*

FIG. 3.—THE HIGH PLACE OF GEZER IN PROCESS OF EXCAVATION

'Ashtart was worshiped at open-air sanctuaries known as "high places." One of the most important of these, belonging to the period between 2500 and 1700 B.C., has been excavated by Mr. Macalister at Gezer. The holy place is indicated by a line of eight huge standing stones, that rest on a platform of smaller stones about eight feet wide (see Fig. 3). The small second stone is thus described by the discoverer: "This is the smallest and most insignificant stone in the series, but it is possibly the most important. The upper end has been worked to a sharp point. By polished surfaces it shows plain evidence, lacking in all the other stones, of having been kissed, anointed, rubbed, or otherwise handled on the top

by worshipers" (*Quarterly Statement*, January, 1903, 28). Macalister conjectures that this stone owed its special sanctity to the fact that it was the oldest, the others being merely honorific additions, but this will not explain its smaller size and its different shape. A more probable theory is, that it was the symbol of 'Ashtart, who enjoyed the special reverence of the ancient Canaanites. Among all the Semites a short cone-shaped stone, representing the female breast, was the emblem of the mother-goddess. This was the form in which, according to the testimony of Ibn al-Kalbi, al-Lat, "the goddess," was worshiped at Tâif in ancient Arabia. It was also the form of the goddess at Petra, according to the testimony of Eusebius. The 'Ashtart of Gebal (Byblus) was similarly represented, to judge from a coin of this city which depicts a conical stone standing in a temple. Down to the latest times the Astarte of Paphos was represented by such a stone. This custom is alluded to apparently in Jer. 2:27, "who say to the stone, Thou hast brought me forth." Stones of this sort are found not only in the excavations but also on the surface of the ground in various parts of Arabia, Syria, and Palestine.

The seven tall round stones are unquestionably phallic emblems of the subordinate male divinities who were the consorts of the polyandrous mother-goddess. We have the repeated testimony of the classical writers that the pillars which stood in the temples of Syria were phalli, and the ends of these stones are often carved in such a way as to leave no doubt what they were intended to represent. These were the most ancient and most widely spread representations of male divinities throughout the Semitic world. Maššēbhôth, or "pillars," are repeatedly mentioned in the Old Testament as dedicated both to Yahweh and to the gods of the Canaanites. Coins of Seleucia in Pieria bear the inscription "Zeus Kasios" (= Ba'al Kašiw) and show an upright stone standing in a temple. At Carthage upwards of 2,000 pillars have been discovered bearing dedications to Ba'al Hammān.

The third and the eighth stones at Gezer bear on their vertical sides circular depressions known to archaeologists as "cup-marks." These are formed by rotating a hard stone on the softer surface of the rock until a melon-shaped depression is formed. Such cup-marks are widely distributed in connection with neolithic remains throughout



the northern hemisphere. The facts that they are frequently found on the perpendicular faces of rocks, and that they are often extremely small, preclude the theory that they are meant to serve the utilitarian purpose of holding food or drink; and their constant association with menhirs, dolmens, and cromlechs show that they must have had a religious significance. In a small model of a temple of Astarte, depicted by Perrot and Chipiez, *Phoenicia*, 287, twelve such holes are seen in the walls of the temple. This suggests that the cup-marks, like the conical stones, are symbols of the mother-goddess. Either they represent in inverted form the breast, or else, as is more probable, they are the feminine counterpart of the standing stones. Herodotus (ii. 106) states that he saw in Syria pillars on which feminine emblems were carved. He probably means just such pillars with cup-marks as these at Gezer. As we should expect, if this interpretation be correct, the cup-marks are found only on tall standing stones, never on short conical stones. These being feminine symbols already, needed no additional feminine symbol to complete them.

To the south of the row of standing stones at Gezer is a rock surface covered with cup-marks similar to those found on the standing stones. This is described by Mr. Macalister as follows (*Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund*, October 1903, 317):

Over an area of about 90 feet north to south, 80 feet east to west, maximum dimensions, the whole surface is covered with cup-marks and hollows ranging from a few inches to five or six feet in diameter; and underneath it is a series of three remarkable caves. . . . The cup-marks are in all 83 in number. One of these, partly concealed by a large wall, is 8 feet in diameter and 9 inches deep. Two more, one of them at the north end of the system and one in the middle, are 6 feet in diameter; these are at the western side of the system, and have the peculiarity of being partly surrounded by small standing stones set on end and cemented together with mud. . . . The most suggestive detail in connection with the group is to be seen close to the series of cups surrounded by standing stones. This is an orifice, too narrow to admit a full grown man, leading into the roof of one of the three caves underneath the rock surface. This orifice is a foot wide, cut at the bottom of a cup-mark 2 feet 8 inches wide, 3 feet 6 inches deep; a rectangular drain 4 feet 6 inches long, 2 feet 2 inches wide, leads into it from the northwest. It is obvious that the cave was used as the receptacle for some material poured into it through the orifice. . . . In this connection it is remarkable that a considerable number of pig-bones—an animal whose remains very seldom occur elsewhere on the tell—were found inside the cave.

In these cup-marks we are probably to see additional emblems of the mother-goddess that were multiplied around her sanctuary, just as crosses are multiplied in a Christian church.

The cave beneath the sanctuary, into which offerings were thrown, is a familiar feature of Semitic high places. In ancient Arabia such excavations usually stood near holy stones or idols. Into them the blood of sacrifices was poured and presents of all sorts were thrown. Similar orifices existed near the altar in the temple of Yahweh at Jerusalem and in that of Atargatis at Hierapolis. At Gezer the sacred cave is older than the line of standing stones on the surface of the ground. It was excavated by a race of troglodytes that occupied this site prior to the advent of the Semites about 2500 B.C. As they themselves lived in caves, it was natural to think of their deity as dwelling in a cave also, so that this may have been a sanctuary already in the earliest period, and may have been inherited by the Semites from their predecessors.

To the west of the sixth and seventh monoliths is a block of stone about six feet square, the top of which contains an excavation about two feet square and one foot four inches deep. Mr. Macalister thinks that this was intended to serve as a socket for the *ashera*, or sacred pole (by the Authorized English Version of the Old Testament rendered "grove") that was commonly associated with sanctuaries of 'Ashtart; but the representations of similar stones in a relief from Susa, and the recently discovered rock-cut high places at Petra make it more probable that this receptacle was intended for offerings or libations.

As to the cult that went on in these ancient high places of 'Ashtart we gain a clear conception from the usages of the pre-Muhammadan Arabs, the Hebrews, and other ancient Semitic peoples. The conical stone that represented the mother-goddess was at once image and altar. Here victims were brought, and were slain upon it. Part of the blood was smeared upon it, and the rest was poured into the drain that led to the cave beneath the high place. The skin of the slaughtered animal was hung upon the stone (hence the origin of the horns of the altar in later art). Thus Saul's first altar (I Sam. 14:32 ff.) was a single great stone, the altar of Laban (Gen. 31:46) was a heap of stones, and the Book of the Covenant (Exod. 20:24 f.) prescribes



that the altar must be either of earth or of unhewn stone. The flesh of the victims was consumed by the offerers in a sacred meal on the spot, or was carried away to be eaten in some other place. Only the blood was given to the deity. No trace of an altar of burnt offering is found at Gezer or at any of the other ancient Canaanite sanctuaries, and the burning of the flesh of the victim was not primitive Semitic usage. Since 'Ashtart was the goddess of fertility, the giver of the increase of the flocks and herds, the first-born of all domestic animals were sacred to her and were brought to her stone to be slaughtered. The first-fruits of the ground were also presented to her. Through constant use for sacrificial purposes and for the reception of libations the smallest of the standing stones at Gezer was worn into its present smooth condition.

The ground in and about the high place of Gezer furnishes evidence of another sort of sacrifice that was offered to the mother-goddess with appalling frequency. Here hundreds of earthenware jars have been found containing the bones of newly born infants. The bones are unbroken and there is no evidence that the bodies have been mutilated in any way. Except in two cases, there is no trace of fire. The jars have been filled with fine sand, apparently brought from a different locality, and with the bones are found two or three small vessels for food such as are placed in tombs. The fact that none of the infants are over a week old shows that we cannot be dealing with an ordinary place of burial, but that these babes must have been slain, presumably by smothering in the sand, as sacrifices in honor of the mother-goddess. Just as the firstlings of animals were devoted to the giver of life, so the first-born children were surrendered in order to secure increased fruitfulness. The custom finds its best explanation in the ancient Hebrew law of *Exod. 22:29*, "The first-born of thy children thou shalt give unto me." Similar jar-burials of infants in connection with high places have been found by Petrie at Tell el-Hesi, Sellin at Taanach, and Schumacher at Megiddo. They leave no doubt that sacrifice of the first-born was universally practiced in ancient Canaan in the cult of 'Ashtart (see *Fig. 4*).

Similar jars containing the bones of infants are found beneath the walls of houses, which indicates that children were also sacrificed to secure good luck when new buildings were erected. This custom is

illustrated by the statement of I Kings 16:34 that Hiel the Bethelite laid the foundations of Jericho at the cost of his first-born son, and set up the gates at the cost of his youngest son. In the modern Orient a sheep or a goat is substituted instead of a human being as a foundation-sacrifice. The present inhabitants of Gezer are much shocked at these offerings of the early inhabitants; and when it was suggested to them that these people were their forefathers, they indignantly repudiated the idea, saying, "Allah forbid that such wicked men should be our ancestors."



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FIG. 4.—JAR CONTAINING THE BONES OF INFANT

Foundation-sacrifices were not limited to infants. In all the mounds of Canaan the bones of adults have been found buried in such positions as to show that they must have been devoted at the time of the building of important edifices. The skeleton of a woman of advanced age was found deposited in a hollow under the corner of a house at Gezer. The body was lying on its back with the legs bent up. At the head was a small bowl and between the femora and the tibiae a large two-handled jar. Both were doubtless intended for food. Similar sacrifices of adults have been found by Sellin at Taanach and by Schumacher at Megiddo.

In the upper levels of the Canaanitish period there begin to appear what are known as "lamp and bowl deposits." These consist of a lamp placed in a bowl with another bowl inverted over it. They are found beneath the high places and under the corners and the thresholds of houses in positions where human sacrifices are found in earlier



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FIG. 5.—LAMP AND BOWL DEPOSIT

levels. It is clear that they are intended to be a conventional substitute for these sacrifices. A lamp, the symbol of life, takes the place of the life of the child, or of the adult that was formerly surrendered. This shows that even among the Canaanites the advance of humane sentiment made human sacrifice repugnant to many people. Such deposits are comparatively rare in pre-Israelitish days, but they become more and more frequent as time advances until they supplant the earlier type. Child-sacrifice never entirely disappeared among the Hebrews in pre-exilic times, but it became continually



rarer, and in post-exilic times only lamp and bowl deposits are found.

The cult of 'Ashtart was not all of the grim sort indicated by the sacrificial remains. She was not only the goddess of fertility, whose favor needed to be secured by offerings in kind, she was also the goddess of love, who was most honored by the exercise of the passion she inspired. All the freedom of the sexual relation that existed in a primitive matriarchal stage of society was consecrated to her, and through the power of religious conservatism continued to exist long after society had passed from the matriarchal to the patriarchal stage. *Kedeshoth*, or temple prostitutes (literally "holy ones"), the degenerate representatives of the old Semitic mothers, were doubtless attached to all the sanctuaries of ancient Canaan, as they were to the temples of a later period. As in ancient Arabia, a spring feast was probably celebrated at the time when the lambs were born, and an autumnal festival at the time of the gathering of the date harvest, or in Canaan, of the gathering of the harvest in general. These occasions were marked by great sexual license in which the freedom of primitive Semitic life was perpetuated. At such feasts celebrated in honor of the mother-goddess, as described in later times by Ephraem Syrus and Augustine, women surrendered themselves to strangers, and maidens sacrificed their virtue. The circumcision of boys took place also as a sign of the dedication of the reproductive powers to the service of the goddess. The enormous number of male and female emblems found in all the strata deposited upon the floor of the high place at Gezer shows how conspicuous the sexual element must have been in the rites of the ancient Canaanite 'Ashtart.

Such was the cult of the mother-goddess as it prevailed all over Palestine before the advent of the Hebrews. When one considers its licentiousness, one is not surprised at the fatal fascination that it exerted upon later Israel, nor at the denunciations thundered against it by the lawgivers and prophets of the Old Testament. The Hebrews found this cult established everywhere throughout the land at the time of the conquest, and adopted it with the other elements of Canaanitish civilization. The Book of Judges repeatedly informs us that Israel "served the 'Ashtarotheim." Through the efforts of Samuel and his successors the worship of the goddess was largely banished from

Israel, but it was continually re-introduced from Phoenicia by later kings or by their Phoenician wives. Both the Old Testament and the witness of archaeology agree, that not until after the Exile did the cult of this deity entirely disappear. 'Ashtart was the most stubborn of all the antagonists of Yahweh, and the victory over her cruel and obscene rites stands forth in history as one of the grandest achievements of the religion of redemption.



## THE SCOPE OF BIBLICAL STUDY

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It is a common though mistaken idea that the study of the Bible is narrow—a conception due partly to the narrowness of many religious people who are inevitably considered representative of the Book; partly also to the narrow view of biblical study prevalent in most churches and Sunday schools. The chief cause of this idea, however, is the growing recognition of the value of the many new studies which have arisen during the past century of marvelous world-progress. Men's thoughts are now centered on the present and the future. To many *all* study of the past is a study of the dead. Of what use is it to spend time on an antique and partly, if not wholly, antiquated body of writings? There is too much in the present that is interesting, and a broad view of life comes more easily from a knowledge of recent facts themselves too numerous for the mind of man to compass. How much better to spend one's effort in securing the breadth sure to follow a careful study of modern subjects, and let the Bible go!

The answer to all such opinions is the scope of the work that any serious biblical student feels more or less incumbent upon him. It is illuminating to learn how one branch of study inevitably leads into and is assisted by other branches. Little by little we discover the unity of all knowledge and the necessary interdependence of all of its parts. Even the *mathematician*, whose subject seems to be so completely separated from biblical investigation and, indeed, from "the humanities" in general—even he may feel that his work as a mathematician is a real help in the study of religion. In all so-called "cultural" studies there is a special need of the power of accurate reasoning because the nature of the material they comprise tends to produce vague appreciations rather than carefully reasoned conclusions. The study of religion is peculiarly open to this vagueness because of the attachments, and consequent bias, that are inherent in religious faith. In this respect the training of the mathematician is

invaluable as a corrective, especially where, as is the case with the Bible, the study of the literature necessarily involves carefully formed historical judgments. Let us not forget, however, that men are more variable than lines and angles and that the mathematical mind is beset by peculiar dangers and limitations in its attempt to analyze and estimate human actions.

Another phase of the relation that may exist between mathematics and *theology*, at least, will appeal to a certain class of minds and is suggestively set forth in a recent article.<sup>1</sup> The author says:

I do not believe that the declined state of theology is destined to be permanent. The present is but an interregnum in her reign, and her fallen days will have an end. She has been deposed mainly because she has not seen fit to avail herself promptly and fully of the dispensations of advancing knowledge. The aims, however, of the ancient mistress are as high as ever, and when she shall have made good her present lack of modern education and learned to extend a generous and eager hospitality to modern light, she will reascend and will occupy with dignity as of yore an exalted place in the ascending scale of human interests and the esteem of enlightened men. And mathematics, by the inmost character of her being, is specially qualified, I believe, to assist in the restoration.

The point of the article is that the mathematical concept of infinity has light to throw upon the problem of the existence of God. To many this will seem very far afield, and the writer must confess that there is little value in it for him, but he cannot be blind to the possibility of its usefulness to many others whose minds are differently constituted. It would seem, therefore, that even mathematics may be a handmaid to the Bible student and cannot be wholly ignored.

When we turn from this comparatively barren relationship to the consideration of the *natural sciences*, we feel at once a far more direct and vital connection. Biblical literature has to do chiefly with religious and moral forces, that is, with realities in another than the material realm, obeying other than merely physical laws. Here lies its peculiar field, and hence comes its special interest for a student. But the biblical writings are accounts of the manifestation of these spiritual realities in and through men and things, that is, in the material world. From this arises a direct and important contact between these forces of the spirit and the forces of the material universe,

<sup>1</sup> *Hibbert Journal*, January and April, 1909; articles by Cassius J. Keyser, "The Message of Modern Mathematics to Theology."

commonly described as "physical laws." Hence the age-long conflict between science and theology,<sup>2</sup> between the naturalists and the supernaturalists, between the evolutionists and the creationists.<sup>3</sup> While the war is subsiding, much to the despair of some theologians, it is still being waged and will reappear in varied form for centuries to come. The religionist wishes his God to be all-powerful beyond dispute and the scientist wishes his cosmos assured and fears chaos if any of his laws are broken into.<sup>4</sup>

The problem raised by this necessary contact between spiritual forces and physical law becomes most acute in the endeavor every bible student must make to solve the question of the miracles. It leads still farther even, into the very heart of religion itself, for it faces anyone who tries seriously to understand what incarnation and revelation really mean. Thus it is that *geology* must be reckoned with the very moment we open our Bibles and read in Genesis the accounts of the creation of the world.<sup>5</sup> The unusual story of Jonah and the whale has driven adverse critics and apologists alike to consult the facts of *zoölogy*, or rather, of *ichthyology*. *Anthropologists* and *biologists* may have scant interest in Methuselah's thousand-year life (cf. Gen. 5:25-27), but a student of the chapter in which his life is mentioned cannot be ignorant of the testimony of these sciences to the possible age of a man, or to the actual length of human life in early times. The study of partheno-genesis is an important feature of biology, and the stories of the virgin-birth of Jesus (Matt., chap. 1, and Luke, chaps. 1-2) take too prominent a place in the gospels not to suggest, and even demand, an investigation of facts that may afford a parallel. An interest in *astronomy* is aroused by the assertion in Josh. 10:12-14 that the sun and moon stood still in the heavens to give Joshua light enough to complete the slaughter of the enemies of Israel. It is continued by the story related in II Kings 20:1-11, according to which the sun moved backward in the sky as a sign to King Hezekiah. Of course, with these, as with the other incidents

<sup>2</sup> Andrew D. White, *History of the Warfare of Science with Theology in Christendom*, Appletons (1905), New York; 2 vols.

<sup>3</sup> Newman Smyth, *Through Science to Faith*, Scribners, 1902.

<sup>4</sup> *Hibbert Journal*, July, 1908; article by G. A. Johnston Ross, "The Religionist and the Scientist."

<sup>5</sup> First account, Gen. 1:1-2:3; second account, Gen. 2:4-25.



mentioned, one who accepts them as true usually bases his position on a certain way of interpreting the omnipotence of God and ignores astronomical, or other, scientific testimony. Similarly, the rejection of these stories as accounts of historic fact is usually arrived at through literary and historical study which brings them into comparison with the easily discredited tales of other ancient books. But how instructive it would be for both classes of students to know what science has to say concerning the actions of heavenly bodies and the results to the universe had the sun really stood still. Far more importance, however, does the science of astronomy assume for the biblical student when he learns that it gives him his only fixed point for determining the accurate chronology of the history of the Hebrews. An eclipse recorded on the ancient Assyrian tablets and verified by Ptolemy and by modern astronomers, enables us to check up and correct the chronological statements of the Hebrew chroniclers.<sup>6</sup> These tablets, or so-called "eponym lists," are careful though brief records of each year's events. The impression of accuracy they impart is confirmed by the testimony astronomy gives to the correctness of the date assigned to this eclipse. The Old Testament likewise gives confirmatory evidence in its accounts of Assyrian campaigns but its contradictory and irreconcilable chronological statements afford no certain starting-point from which to calculate. The more consistent and reliable Assyrian records give us fixed dates for several events which are mentioned also in the Hebrew accounts. Thus the biblical reckonings may be fairly well judged and the chronology sufficiently well established. More than any of these particular services must be acknowledged the general and necessary aid given by science as a whole to one who would understand the past and present of the world. Modern science has remade the universe for us. In so far as scientific theories have become verified as knowledge, just so far may we know not only the world in which we of today live but also the world in which the ancients lived, for one of the fundamental axioms of science is that the universe has always behaved in the same way. The light that our "new knowledge"<sup>7</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Hastings' *Bible Dictionary*, Scribner, 1903; cf. article on "Chronology of the Old Testament," par. iv.

<sup>7</sup> Robert K. Duncan, *The New Knowledge*, A. S. Barnes & Co., 1906.

sheds on old things is incalculable and without it we may not hope to penetrate into the dim forest of the past deeply enough to estimate its nature and significance.

The studies of *art* and *archaeology* receive great aid from the study of the Bible and, in turn, royally repay the student of biblical literature who attends to them. The Bible, especially the Old Testament, is a mine of information concerning the customs, garments, utensils, coins, sites, and buildings of the period of history that it embraces. On the other hand, artists have often taken as their subjects biblical persons, places, customs, and symbols. In fact, European art was dominantly religious in its nature and origin until the Reformation broke the power of ecclesiasticism and men were enabled to see the beauty and sacredness of the ordinary things of life. To the student of *architecture* the Temple area at Jerusalem is always of interest even if he does not care to study, as he usually will, the history of that significant pile. The influence of Christianity upon the architecture of all peoples touched by it is too plain to demand more than passing reference. This outreach of Bible contents and spirit into other spheres of human interest and activity carries the student of the Bible with it, if for no other reason, that he may better understand and appreciate the cause which produced such effects. The Bible receives light from the churches and cathedrals, and the pictures they house, just as it does from the ecclesiastical history which produced both cathedrals and pictures. Still closer, indeed, is the companionship of the biblical student and the *archaeologist*. If the lands of the Bible form, as has been said, the "fifth Gospel," then truly are the archaeological remains of those lands its earliest translation, and the student of the Bible must know the work of the archaeological translators and equip himself for an intelligent appreciation of their results. The books of the Bible have been greatly influenced by many different nations—Egypt, Assyria, Babylon, Persia, Greece, Rome, and a bevy of lesser powers. These peoples have one and all left their impress on the pages of our sacred book, and therefore, all discoveries concerning their kings, battles, chronology, operations, customs, religion, and theology affect our understanding of it. Since its discovery in 1901, what a changed view of the Hebrew laws is suggested to us by the perusal of the famous "Code of Ham-



murabi,"<sup>8</sup> the powerful Babylonian who ruled over southwestern Asia about 2200 B.C. The parallels between this code and the Hebrew codes are numerous and striking, and conclusively prove a considerable though probably indirect dependence of the latter upon the former. Only less recent was the discovery of the "Tel el-Amarna Letters"<sup>9</sup> in Egypt, by which the politics and life of the Canaanite peoples in the fifteenth century B.C. have been made unusually clear. These letters were written in the so-called "Patriarchal Period" of the Hebrews and give us what Genesis does not, reliable data for forming a right estimate of some of the antecedents of those Semitic tribes whom Moses led out of Egypt, and from whom came eventually the Hebrew nation and all that it signifies. The Babylonian stories of the Creation and the Flood<sup>10</sup> help us to determine the true value of the parallel Hebrew traditions. One final example will suffice. Archaeology is gradually restoring for us a clear picture of Roman provincial life in New Testament times. What help this will render in enabling us to understand aright the early spread of Christianity one may see from an examination of the work done by Ramsay in Asia Minor.<sup>11</sup> The Book of Acts and the Pauline epistles have yet to be completely translated and archaeology alone can finish the task.<sup>12</sup>

The *languages* in which the Bible was originally written, or those with which its original languages have connections, may occupy the undivided attention of a scholar's life-time. Though written in Aramaic writing, just as German is written in Roman as well as in German script, the language of the Old Testament is wholly the ancient Hebrew with the exception of a few passages in the Aramaic language (e.g., Ezra 10:12-26) and a few Greek, Persian, and Babylonian words. Greek was the original language of the whole New Testament, excepting a few sections which were probably written in

<sup>8</sup> Robert F. Harper, *The Code of Hammurabi, King of Babylon*, The University of Chicago Press, 1904.

<sup>9</sup> Lewis B. Paton, *Early History of Syria and Palestine*, Scribner, 1901.

<sup>10</sup> H. G. Mitchell, *The World before Abraham*, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1901.

<sup>11</sup> W. M. Ramsay, *The Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, Murray, 1890; *Cities and Bishopricks of Phrygia*, Oxford Press, 1895.

<sup>12</sup> *Authority and Archaeology, Sacred and Profane*, edited by D. G. Hogarth, Scribner, 1899.

Hebrew at the first; but it must not be forgotten that the teaching of Jesus was given by him in the Aramaic tongue. Ignoring the cognate languages, valuable as they are, the Bible student is therefore concerned chiefly with Hebrew, Greek, and Aramaic. What interests us most about the Bible is the religious and ethical ideas which it sets forth. If we are to understand these ideas we must know the meanings attached by the writers themselves to the words they employed in voicing their thoughts. Thus, and thus alone, may we learn what the Prophets were trying to inculcate. The study of Hebrew helps us determine what the ancient writers really meant when they spoke of "God," "sin," "righteousness," "the Messiah." Whole passages stand out in an entirely new light when the original meaning of even a single word is made clear. Take, for example, Isa. 7:10-17. The word translated "virgin" in our English text means merely "a young woman," as indicated in the margin of the Revised Version. And yet, upon this, a mistranslation, has rested many an argument for the virgin birth of Jesus. Of course, a good translation gives the reader the gist of the thing, but the complete connotation not only of words but of phrases and sentences as well, can be secured only by one who knows the original language. More important still, and more practicable for the average reader, is a knowledge of the original Greek of the New Testament, for here we have the basic documents of our religion. The Greek language, far more even than modern French, conveys shades of meaning that defy translation. Paul's intricate reasoning can be followed accurately only by one who is familiar with the language he used. The sayings of Jesus are wondrously illumined when they are read understandingly in the language of the biblical reporters. But Jesus spoke in Aramaic, and an ability to reconstruct and estimate the Aramaic form of his teaching is more and more valuable. For instance, Jesus' claims for himself hinge upon his use of the phrase "Son of Man." What meaning did Jesus attach to the phrase? Was it a new phrase or was it one in common use among Aramaic-speaking peoples? If the latter, what was its ordinary meaning? Could Jesus have used it in a special sense as applied to himself and, if so, would others hearing him have interpreted his words in the same way? Is Jesus' use of the phrase connected with its use by the

author of the book of Daniel (Dan. 7:13) and, if so, what is its meaning as used in that book? Has Ezekiel's frequent use of the term any bearing on the question?

The current controversy over the answers to these queries is not an idle one nor one that is far removed from the interests of the lay Christian. It has to do with the central conception of Christianity. To the settlement of the dispute the contribution of language-study will not be small. Of course, it is true that, in the New Testament especially, "he who runs may read" and life is not in criticism but in faith and obedience. But that is not the point at issue. What many a man needs to realize is that a serious study of the Bible is a far-reaching one and especially, in this connection, that such study necessarily leads to kinds and degrees of language-study that may well command all his interest and ability.

The study of *philosophy* deals with theories of the universe. This is a study that the average man scorns and yet we are all philosophers of one school or another, whether we know it or not, and many a man who has not tried it would find philosophy surprisingly interesting reading. Fortunately, religious life can exist independently of any consciously held philosophy, but as soon as reflective thought begins to turn its attention to religion, just so soon is the thinker brought into touch with philosophy. The ancient Hebrews were unusually free from speculative interest, but the Book of Job shows that in their later development they could not escape it, and Ecclesiastes proves that Greek questioning could find an abiding-place in the Hebrew mind. But both the Hebrew religion and Christianity profess to give men an answer to the final questions of life and therefore they not only challenge the attention of the philosopher but also lead their adherents to inquire how they agree with or differ from the answers men have elsewhere given to the same questions. Idealists everywhere breathe the atmosphere that surrounded the Old Testament prophets and the modern pragmatist has his prototype in the authors of the Hebrew "Wisdom Literature," e.g., Proverbs. Neither may we forget that next to the original Christian kernel and its Jewish shell, the atmosphere of Greek and Roman thought was the most important element in the formation of historic Christian doctrine. To one of a philosophic bent the study of the Bible receives



added zest because of its necessary and important connections with philosophy. To those to whom philosophy is still *terra incognita* this consideration may become the occasion of broad and fruitful reading.

The *historical* connections of the literature of the Bible are too well known to be dwelt upon more than has already been done. We might also carry this discussion into the realms of *ethics*, *psychology*, *politics*, *economics*, and *sociology*, but limits of space permit the treatment of only one more relationship. There are still Christians in civilized countries who hold ideas of religion quite analogous to those of the ancient Jews, i.e., that all inspiration and revelation have been confined within the boundaries of their particular faith. A broader, truer, and more helpful conception is now dominant. It is now recognized that there is such a thing as a "family of religions," that there is an organic unity in all religion and that there has been development, evolution, from lower to higher forms.<sup>13</sup> This means that the study of *comparative religion* is as important and useful to the Christian scholar as is the study of comparative anatomy to the physician. Nothing is gained and much is lost, both for knowledge and for life, if the biblical student is unacquainted with the history, the forms, and the spirit of the many religions which have held sway over the hearts of men. There is too much superficial commendation of non-Christian religions which sees no superiority in one over another, and religious dilettantes sometimes suggest a new eclectic faith that shall embrace the good points of all. Only careful and discriminative study will serve to correct this assuredly harmful tendency. On the other hand, no student of the Bible can understand or estimate aright the unique features of its contents until he has seen with clear eye its points of contact with the sacred books of other religions. Any view of revelation that does not reckon with the ethics of Confucius is necessarily incomplete. Any Christian who does not understand why his religion is superior to that of the Buddha is leaving out of account the most serious rival of Christianity today. In countless ways the study of comparative religion will not only broaden his sympathies but will clarify his vision of spiritual truth, the touchstone of all his interpretation of the past and the guide to a proper estimate of it.

<sup>13</sup> Allan Menzies, *History of Religion*, Scribner, 1902.



Every student thinks that his chosen study is the broadest and most exacting of all. This is but the testimony of loyal hearts to the great fact of the essential unity and interdependence of all knowledge. Can a student of the Bible be less loyal to his subject than others are to theirs? Have they more reason to be loyal than he, or more ground for maintaining the greater scope of their fields of work? In the light of the facts can anyone longer hold that the study of the Bible is narrow or narrowing?

## THE BIBLE IN THE NEW LIGHT

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In the light of modern biblical research, commenced practically by George Smith in 1872, the once accepted view of the Bible's accuracy in the presentation of the various subjects of which it treats has undergone a more or less radical change in the minds of most scholars. A few, such as Professor Orr, still regard the Bible from the old "traditional" standpoint of its complete infallibility, but speaking generally, this is no longer admitted by biblical critics. Professor Driver, as a conservative member of this school, does not hesitate to say of the opening chapters of Genesis, which record the creation of the earth, of man, and the beginnings of human progress, that these chapters present no account of "the real beginnings" (*Genesis*, xlii), since it is certain that they contain statements "inconsistent with what is independently known of the early history of the earth, and of mankind upon it" (*ibid.*, 1). Such a conclusion, however, is not limited to the "early chapters," but is more or less applicable to almost the whole of the Old Testament records.

Now, this change amongst biblical scholars has not been made without having been noticed by the ordinary devout and thoughtful readers of the Bible, a recognition resulting in a disquietude which, beginning some twenty years back, has steadily kept pace with the "critics'" advance, until today biblical students are constantly being asked, "How are we to view the Bible in the light of modern research? If these things be true, is not the Bible in danger of losing its right to the title of the 'Word of God,' and if so, is not the very foundation upon which we have reared our social well-being, which is the Bible itself, threatened with destruction which will consequently cause the collapse of our whole social fabric?"

That this original and growing uneasiness, with its natural questionings as described, is no mere imagination of the present writer,

is proved in the first place by a series of lectures on "The Present Disquietude" delivered by Professor Sanday in 1890, and published by him the same year in book form under the title of *The Oracles of God*. Here, as the result of modern research up to that date, he did not hesitate to say, that "the sphere of the Bible's infallibility has been steadily narrowed" (16, 36). Now the very possibility of such narrowing existing in the Bible shows that it contains two elements, the human and the divine. And this Professor Sanday acknowledged in the second lecture, entitled, "The Human Element in the Bible," which he commenced with the words, "It has for a long time been distinctly recognized that there is a human as well as a divine element in the book by which God has been pleased to convey the revelation of himself to us" (15). The existence of this human element was further acknowledged by Rev. Chancellor Lias, who in a communication to *The Guardian*, November 10, 1897, wrote, "It becomes ever more clear to the Bible student that there is a large human element in Scripture." Writing to *The Christian World* in April of the previous year, Dean Farrar said, "I cannot name a single student or professor of any eminence in Great Britain who does not accept, with more or less modification, the main conclusions of the German school of critics." Again in November 24, 1897, a well-known scholar, Rev. R. L. Ottley, in *The Guardian*, wrote, "broadly speaking, the new critics have established their case."

In 1909, however, Professor Orr published his now famous work, entitled *The Problem of the Old Testament*, which purported to be a complete answer to the "critics." With delight it was hailed as such by the "traditionalists," and so accepted by the ordinary readers amongst them acquainted merely with the fact of the general critics' position touching the existence of the aforesaid two elements in the Bible. Unfortunately this jubilation was founded upon an assumed result which had no existence in fact. Nor is this surprising, since Professor Orr himself seems to have been entirely unaware that his whole attempt affected only the conclusions of a small school of hyper-critics, leaving untouched those of the general critic. He has attempted to show that the crux of the whole problem at issue lay in the question as to whether the religion of the Old Testament is "a natural product of the development of the human spirit, or; a

result of special, supernatural revelation to Israel, such as other nations did not possess" (4). Thus he refers to "the deep cleft" which remains between what he calls "the believing and the unbelieving view of the Old Testament, between the view which admits, and the view which denies, the properly supernatural element in the history and religion of Israel" (10).

Now, to one fully acquainted with the problem in dispute, it is evident that Professor Orr begins his inquiry by misstating the real point at issue. The *general* critic is not primarily concerned with the question as to whether or no Israel had a supernatural revelation differing in character from that possessed by other nations, but with the problem of separating what he, equally with Professor Orr, fully acknowledges to have been a revelation, from the human element in which at all times it was embodied. The "deep cleft" therefore between what Professor Orr calls the believing and the unbelieving view of the Old Testament has no actual existence, since the terms are altogether inapplicable as representing respectively the "traditionalists" and the "critics." Thus, despite the enthusiasm with which Professor Orr's volume was received by the "traditionalists," the general critic still continues his research along the lines indicated, and has been compelled by the result still further to narrow the sphere of the Bible's infallibility beyond the definite concessions made by Professor Sanday in 1890, although it is evident from his remarks that he foresaw the subsequent extension of the more *human* element. His lectures, as I said, were published under the title of *The Oracles of God*, which is merely another expression for the "Word of God." Now here is perhaps the most important point in the whole discussion. Can the Bible be accurately referred to as the "Word of God"? This, as I said at the opening of this paper, is the question on the lips of those who for the first time become thoroughly acquainted with the great change which has taken place in the modern scholars' view of the Bible. I have long believed that it is entirely misleading to call the Bible the "Word of God," or to use any phrase which similarly expresses the character of the contents of the Old Testament especially. For this reason I had objected to the definition used by Professor Bennett in his well-known volume on *The Theology of the Old Testament*, p. 3—"The Old Testament is the record of the



Revelation of God which he gave to mankind," and in its place proposed to him to substitute, "The Old Testament is the record of the growth of man's conception of God, aided by God." I claimed that there was here room left for the appearance in the Old Testament of man's mistakes and consequent misrepresentation of the will and character of God, which Dr. Bennett's expression did not allow for—in other words, for the due recognition of both the human and the divine elements, which I felt confident Dr. Bennett, equally with Dr. Sanday, admitted as existing in the Bible. In a correspondence of some length, Dr. Bennett endeavored to justify his expression while rejecting mine, for the following reasons. He wrote:

I believe that man's ideas of God are from the beginning due to a divine suggestion, and that man is continually educated by the Holy Spirit to grasp and interpret the divine revelation. "Aided by God" seems to me quite inadequate and even misleading as suggesting independent human research. Surely it is God that prompts men to seek after Himself. To me the Old Testament is the record of revelation; because, even in the early imperfect conceptions of God and His works, we learn that God did reveal, or was revealing Himself, though of course we also learn that human error distorted and adulterated the truth presented by God to men's minds. The Old Testament is the record of human misunderstanding as well as of Divine Revelation.

A record of human misunderstanding as well as of divine revelation; of human error distorting and adulterating the truth. Surely here is a joint action whichever way you put it. Is not every effort of man after good, however erroneously understood or mistakenly performed, a joint action between the man and his Maker? If man was made in the image of God he still possesses what may truly be called a natural endowment for seeking God, notwithstanding the original image has been marred by inherited and personal transgression. Here the scriptural precept in the case of wisdom applies equally to the Almighty "those that seek me diligently shall find me" (Prov. 8:7). Is it reasonable to suppose that man must have a fresh stimulus before he can commence to seek after God? I was not surprised, therefore, to receive a further communication from Dr. Bennett in which he said: "Probably my objection to your definition was too sweeping. I mentioned your sentence and mine to a friend for whose judgment I have great respect. He said that they seemed to him equivalent statements of the same truth." This was better,

although I still think that *my* definition leaves room for the presence of the human element which Dr. Bennett's seems to exclude. Indeed, his definition implies that the expression, "And God spake," means exactly what it says, whereas it actually means nothing more than what the speaker was about to utter, this that he himself assumed God had commissioned him to declare. This is the view of Rev. J. Paterson Smyth, author of numerous episcopally indorsed works on the Bible.

It is [he wrote to me] really the crux of the Old Testament study, what is the meaning of "The Lord said," "The Lord spake unto Moses." I believe it must be taken as the expression of the speaker's conviction that the utterance was of God, inspired of God, which conviction was justified, only the human element needs to be eliminated by us. . . . It was Moses' conception of the will of God. . . . Either this is true, or you must charge God with commanding what would rouse the whole church today in righteous indignation if it were commanded now. You must choose.

No, there is no necessity for us to choose. Christ did this for us and thereby became the first founder of modern criticism. The sayings, "An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth," and "love thy neighbor and hate thine enemy," notwithstanding that they comprise commands which had been given under the heading, "The Lord said," Christ set aside with the clear intimation that they were of human origin merely, and in no sense the utterances of God at any time (Matt. 5:33; cf. Exod. 20:22; 21:24, 25; Matt. 5:42; cf. Exod. 33:1, 2; Deut. 7:1; 23:3-7). And this is plain, for while man's conception of the law of God must necessarily change with the development of his ethical standards, God's own law never changes, since God is the same always (Mal. 3:6).

In a recent lecture on "The Teaching of the Old Testament," given by the Dean of Ely to students attending a Sunday-school teachers' training class, the speaker said, "You must not be surprised to find in the Old Testament much that belongs to the spirit and temper of the age in which it was written . . . strange ancient traditions . . . legends, myths, and allegories, which were the natural shapes in which men embodied their beliefs" (*The Guardian*, September 22, 1909). To this we may also add, "many enactments utterly incompatible with any real law of God," since the ethical codes of the Old Testament contain much that was also the outcome of the spirit and

temper of the age in which they were promulgated. Now all this—the myths, legends, and traditions, the faulty science, history, and morals—constitutes the human element in the Bible, to which the well-known scholar, Canon Beeching, in a recent sermon in Westminster Abbey, referred as “forming no part of divine revelation at all.” “We cannot,” he added, “if we use language accurately, identify the Bible with ‘the Word of God’; we must say rather that it contains God’s word, and is inspired so far as it contains it” (*The Guardian*, October 20, 1909).

From all this it will be seen that in order to recognize where the real message of the Bible lies, it is first necessary to understand its character and purpose. Its purpose is exclusively religious, the object of its writers being neither the teaching of science nor history, but of God and his requirements. Here, and here only, is the sphere of the Bible’s *infallibility*, since here exists only the divine element. All else—matters of contemporary knowledge of every kind, with its myths, legends, and traditions—comprises the sphere of the Bible’s *fallibility*, since here exists only the human element. As for the character, or outward structure of the Bible, it is no different in kind from the Bibles of other ancient peoples, since equally with theirs it is made up of much that is ridiculous, supernaturally extravagant, and even shockingly horrible. It is equally true, however, that the Old Testament differs so considerably in degree from the character of other Bibles, that it is only the student or the more thoughtful reader who can detect anything in its pages clearly contrary to the spirit of a divine revelation. It is there, however, and its existence is practically conceded even by Professor Orr, who admits, that to the enlightened conscience, the Old Testament contains difficulties which “perplex and stagger us” (435). It is, however, one of the objects of this series to show that *no* such result need follow if it be borne in mind that it is not in the *body* of information which comprises the Old Testament that we are to see its divine revelation, but in the spirit which animates it throughout.



## THE LATER MINISTRY—A CRITICAL PERIOD<sup>1</sup>

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Our gospels are a unit in their testimony that the popularity of Jesus which rose to high tide during the days of his Galilean ministry was followed by a period of reaction. They all agree that soon after the feeding of the five thousand Jesus is alone with his most intimate disciples, the Twelve. The Fourth Gospel expressly states that the multitude forsook him and Mark (9:30) makes it clear that something had occurred which changed the situation. The uniform impression created by our sources is that a crisis in Jesus' career has come. Careful consideration of the experiences of the period strengthens this impression into conviction. Scarcely any portion of Jesus' life so well repays study. In no other period do we gain clearer insight into the currents of his inner life. We can best exhibit the significance of the events of these days by considering them first in relation to his disciples and, secondly, in their relation to Jesus himself.

Jesus compelled attention; both by the message which he uttered, and by the indefinable spirit of his personality men felt forced to reckon with him. The multitudes, so long treated with neglect and contempt by their leaders, heard his words of grace and wisdom and instinctively felt that they had found a friend. The teachers and rulers of the Pharisees and Sadducees heard a new note of authority and power and began to look upon him with apprehension. His word of truth was a sword of discrimination and division. Gradually men began to take sides for or against him. When the lines of division began to be clearly and openly drawn (Mark 3:6) Jesus chose from among his followers twelve who should be his special companions. They should thereby not only be a source of strength and inspiration to him, but should also become qualified by close personal touch to be his helpers and successors. Following the choosing of

<sup>1</sup> This study covers the International Uniform Sunday-School Lessons for July 17, 24, and 31.



the band of twelve, Jesus continued his work along somewhat new and enlarging lines. His fame spread and men of all classes in the nation were brought face to face with the problem of this new teacher. Though he puzzled them greatly they came on the whole to entertain so high a regard for him that they tried to force him to accept the kingship and free them from the bondage of Rome (John 6:15). It is the explicit testimony of the Fourth Gospel that his refusal to become a king of the people's own making, and his address following hard upon the refusal, brought on the apostasy of the people. Whether the multitude left him because they were disappointed, or whether Jesus withdrew from them because of their false conceptions and consequent embarrassing insistence as the synoptists suggest,<sup>2</sup> or whether both causes operated, the fact on which all evidence agrees is that Jesus found himself alone with his disciples, and himself, by his own choosing, the topic of discussion.

Jesus directs the conversation to the general opinion which had been formed of him. Almost from the beginning of his ministry he had been a problem to the people.<sup>3</sup> The answer of the apostles to his question shows how greatly opinions differed. Some thought he was John the Baptist.<sup>4</sup> Some regarded him as a prophet.<sup>5</sup> Others believed him to be Elijah,<sup>6</sup> who was not only a great hero of Israel but also the expected messenger of the covenant who should precede the coming of the day of Jehovah. According to the record of Matthew, some thought Jesus was Jeremiah.<sup>7</sup> If the disciples related

<sup>2</sup> Mark 8:30; 9:15; Matt. 9:20; Luke 9:21; cf. John 6:15.

<sup>3</sup> Mark 2:12; 4:41; Luke 5:6; John 3:2, 26; 4:29; 7:26, 31; 9:17; 10:19-21, 24.

<sup>4</sup> According to one report this was the thought of Herod (Mark 6:14; Matt. 14:2). According to another report it was the people's suggestion and Herod was simply perplexed and did not know who he was (Luke 9:9; cf. 23:8).

<sup>5</sup> Mark 6:15 and Luke 7:16 interpret this to mean that Jesus belonged to the line of prophets. Luke 9:8, 19 suggest that Jesus was thought to be one of the old prophets risen from the dead. There is but very meager evidence for the existence of such an idea in Judaism. See Sirach 49:10. Perhaps IV Ezra 6:26 is against it.

<sup>6</sup> The expectation concerning Elijah began in the Old Testament period and continued on down into the Christian church (Mal. 3:1; 4:5, 6; I Macc. 2:58; Sirach 48:1-12; Mark 9:11; Matt. 11:14; 17:10; John 1:21, 25; Luke 1:17; Tertullian, *de Anima*, 35; cf. Allen, *Int. Crit. Com.* on Matt. 11:14).

<sup>7</sup> The evidence is ample that Jeremiah was one of the heroes of the people. (II Macc. 2:1-8; 15:13-16; Sirach 49:6, 7; Epistle of Jeremiah). But that he was

to Jesus the entire range of opinion concerning himself, it is to be noted that the people had uniformly come to entertain a high estimate of him. To be called John the Baptist or Elijah or Jeremiah or one of the prophets was second only to being recognized as Messiah. Some had even questioned whether he were not the Christ and according to the Fourth Gospel (6:15) had attempted to force him into that rôle as they understood it. But Jesus had apparently not only made no such open claim for himself, but refused to accept such an estimate of himself from others. This helped to mystify the people yet more and when Jesus left them for the regions of Caesarea Philippi he was still an unsolved problem.

Our sources are uniform in their testimony that the Twelve had passed beyond this uncertainty. In response to Jesus' question Peter speaking for himself and the others declares Jesus to be the Christ. It seems most likely that the confession found in John 6:67-69 is only a variant of the same event that is recorded by the synoptists. The general period is the same in both and the confession, though differing verbally, is essentially identical in significance; whatever may be true as to that there can be no doubt that the record in John gives the secret of the confession contained in the synoptic gospels. The disciples seem to have shared the intellectual confusion of the many concerning the kind of activity to expect from the Messiah. But of one thing they were certain—Jesus had words of eternal life. The confession is not an expression of a clear-cut conception of messiahship and the fulfilment by Jesus of this ideal. It is a testimony to their deep personal attachment to him and confidence in him. They are merely giving expression to their conviction of his character and destiny by assigning to him the highest term of value they possessed. He must be the Messiah because one so great as he could be no less. They were willing to assign to Jesus their highest term of valuation because their personal fellowship with him had so enriched their hearts as to warrant, yea, demand it.

That this attainment and expression of such personal confidence expected in the last days is very meagerly attested (II Ezra 2:18 is certainly post-Christian). According to II Macc. 2:4-8, Jeremiah had hidden the tabernacle and ark and altar of incense on Mount Nebo until the last days. Since no one could find them, perhaps he must come to return the sacred treasures (cf. Edersheim, *Life and Times*, etc., II, 79, n. 1).

in Jesus and such a valuation of him, should be followed by intimate conversation on the meaning of messiahship is quite natural. Jesus can say now what he could not have said with safety before. The disciples are horrified when he plainly tells them that messiahship for him means death. Peter again as spokesman vehemently repudiates any such suggestion and declares it must not, shall not, be. We learn from our sources<sup>8</sup> that for at least a week this must have been the prevailing topic of thought and conversation for Jesus and his disciples. It seemed to the latter an impossible thing that one who had just accepted their designation of him as Messiah should be put to death. It was contrary to all their conceptions. Jesus had openly expressed his pleasure at their confession of him as Messiah and declares that only a divine revelation had made it possible. So also again does it require a divine communication to lead them to accept Jesus' interpretation of the meaning and issue of that messiahship. Such a communication is given in the Transfiguration experience. The central significance of this event for the disciples is in the voice which they hear in approval of Jesus. This appears not only from the story as told in the gospels, but also from the oldest literary reference to the event outside the gospels. Whether II Peter be an authentic writing of the apostle or not its testimony on this point is valuable. In 1:16-18 we have a reference to the Transfiguration which expressly assigns central significance to the voice which the disciples heard attesting the authority and majesty of Jesus. It is the express testimony of Luke and is implied in the other gospels that the topic of discussion between Jesus and his heavenly visitors is that which he had been discussing with his disciples—his exodus or death at Jerusalem. The two visitors suddenly disappear, the disciples are left alone with Jesus, and hear a voice saying "This is my beloved son, hear ye him." His message is unwelcome, but true. The disciples would abide in the presence of all three and discuss the subject with all. They are left with Jesus only and commanded to hear him.

This becomes clearer when we take into account the significance of Moses and Elijah in the event. There is some little evidence that these two were expected to appear together in the days of the Messiah,

<sup>8</sup> Mark 8:31; 9:2; Matt. 16:21; 17:1; Luke 9:28, 31.



but it is very meager for this period.<sup>9</sup> Besides, this conception does not seem pertinent here. It is much better to see in them the representatives of the law and the prophets. Moses as the mediator of the law at Sinai occupied a position of paramount authority in Judaism. Elijah also occupied a prominent place in Jewish thought. He was regarded as the representative prophēt (Sirach 48:8) whose "word burned like a torch."<sup>10</sup> In his capacity as the second great teacher of Israel, he appears here.<sup>11</sup> Several times in the gospel record<sup>12</sup> Jesus identifies John the Baptist as the promised Elijah. He even does so in connection with this Transfiguration experience. Now, the conception which John entertained concerning the Greater One who should follow him was that which was current in Judaism. He should be a judge, swift and terrible. The disciples present with Jesus in the mount had all been disciples of John because they saw in him the messenger of Jehovah. Whatever he may at any time have said concerning the Greater One, they remembered and appreciated only his prediction of a judge. They still stood on that ground. The voice from heaven insists that they shall listen neither to Moses the representative of the law, nor to Elijah the prophet in his representative, John the Baptist. On the contrary, though the message of Jesus runs counter to all their traditional conceptions, and does such violence to their personal affection, it must nevertheless be heard. Doubtless the disciples had argued with Jesus on the basis of Moses and the prophets, the greatest of which they had been taught to believe was John the Baptist. These spoke to them of no such career for the Messiah as Jesus had announced for himself, and consequently he must be mistaken. But Jesus read the Old Testament in a different way (Mark 9:12; Luke 24:25-28)

<sup>9</sup> Rev. 11:3-6; cf. Mal. 4:4, 5; I Kings 17:1; 18; II Kings 1:10-12; Sirach 48:3; Luke 4:25; 9:54; James 5:17-18; Ex. 7:19, 20; 9:14. See also Edersheim, *Life and Times*, II, 100, n. 1; Volz, *Jüdische Eschatologie*, 191-93.

<sup>10</sup> Sirach 48:1; cf. n. 5.

<sup>11</sup> Tertullian, *adv. Marcion*, iv, 32, 34, says that Moses was the molder of the people, Elijah the reformer; Moses is the initiator of the old covenant, Elijah the consummator of the new. He interprets the voice to mean that we are to hear not the law or the prophets but Christ, "my Son, not Moses or Elijah."

<sup>12</sup> Mark 9:11, 12; Matt. 11:11, 14; 17:10, 13; Luke 7:27; cf. Luke 1:17; Mark 1:2; John 1:21, 25.



and found in it confirmation of his interpretation of the career which he foresaw to be his own. Had Jesus spoken his message too early in his relation with his disciples they would have been of those who "went back and walked no more with him." They were held now by bonds of deepest personal devotion. They repeatedly had the matter pressed upon them by Jesus.<sup>13</sup> They could hardly believe him, they could not understand, but they began to feel that he was speaking some terrible truth. It was an immense strain on them. Howbeit their profound experience of his personal power and appeal held them steady. They justified Jesus' confidence in them.

But what does this period mean for Jesus? Our records agree that following the mountain experience he requested his disciples to tell no one that he was the Christ. This appears to be not only his desire throughout this period (Mark 9:30, 31), but if we may trust our sources, was his attitude from the first.<sup>14</sup> That it continued long after the period of retirement in the North there is little evidence.<sup>15</sup> On the contrary the tone which Jesus adopts in his teaching after his final departure from Galilee is distinctly different from that which prevails before. There is a new note of authority and self-assertion in it. He seems to see the issue and accept it. The rubicon is crossed. He moves forward with abandon. He has "steadfastly set his face to go to Jerusalem" (Luke 9:51).

The unwillingness of Jesus to be acknowledged the Messiah was not due to lack of such consciousness on his part, for that he regarded himself as Messiah may now be considered established. When he arrived at such consciousness is not so easy to determine. If the synoptists have correctly placed the story of the temptation Jesus began his work with the conviction of his messiahship. His avoidance of the confession of it on the part of the public was doubtless due in part to his feeling that the rôle, as it must of necessity be understood by the people, was foreign to him. All that he felt himself to be by the inmost conviction of his moral consciousness repudiated the conceptions which by tradition were bound up in the term Messiah. To

<sup>13</sup> Mark 8:31; 9:30; 10:32 and parallels.

<sup>14</sup> Mark 1:24, 25, 34, 44; 3:12; 5:43; 8:26; Matt. 9:30; 12:16; Luke 4:14, 35; 8:56. But see Mark 2:10, 19 f.

<sup>15</sup> John 10:26 suggests that as late as the middle of the following winter the leaders in Jerusalem had heard from Jesus no explicit claim to be the Messiah.

accept the position of Messiah before the people was not only to disregard his own inner convictions but was also to be placed in a false position before the public. His hesitancy was further due to the fact that such a claim on his part would have been like a match applied to powder. All the "explosive material which had been fermenting in the hearts of the expectant people would have been brought to the point of combustion." This would have interfered radically with the work he felt he must do even if it did not defeat it altogether. His disciples and, if possible, the people must be led to a reinterpretation of the term Messiah through their fellowship with him. He could not submit himself to be interpreted by the current conception of the Messiah. Yet he was forced to employ this term in order to express his own self-estimate. He would place himself in a position distinctly his own. He did not think of himself as one member of a class but as unique and above all others. No term other than Messiah was at hand in which to express this conviction. When the time was ripe Jesus accepted, even courted, the confession from his disciples of his messianic significance. This consummation of the first period of his association with his Twelve makes possible the next step. He must now lead them to some understanding of what that messiahship involves. "From that time began Jesus to show unto his disciples how that he must go unto Jerusalem, and suffer."

How soon Jesus himself arrived at this conviction our gospels do not make clear. He is said to have seen in the death of John the Baptist a prophecy of his own fate,<sup>16</sup> but we cannot decide with certainty just when the death of John occurred. It seems probable that he had some premonition of the fate of both John and himself during John's prison days.<sup>17</sup> Some suggestions<sup>18</sup> of it appear very early in his ministry. The evidence that Jesus at the time of his baptism already identified himself with the suffering servant of Jehovah<sup>19</sup> can hardly be said to be decisive. That the temptation reflects Jesus' consciousness of a radical difference between his conception of his own mission and popular messianic expectation is beyond question.

<sup>16</sup> Mark 9:12, 13; Matt. 17:12.

<sup>17</sup> Matt. 11:12; cf. Allen, *Int. Crit. Com.*, *ad loc.*

<sup>18</sup> Mark 2:8, 19b; Luke 4:28-30.

<sup>19</sup> See Denney, *Death of Christ*, 14-22.

It is probable that it implies also his knowledge that fidelity to his duty foreboded ill. At the time of the great confession and Peter's subsequent repudiation of the suggestion of death for his master, Jesus' reply to Peter is the strongest expression of the kind of which our gospels make record. One can hardly help recalling in connection with it Jesus' reply when in his great temptation he is offered all the kingdoms of the world. Peter is expressly declared to be a stumbling-block. The old temptation of Jesus has returned. The facts argue that he saw his death from the beginning. Jesus' early temptation came to him when alone in the desert. The story of it must then have been given to the disciples as a bit of autobiography.<sup>20</sup> But there is no time previous to the days of Caesarea Philippi when the disciples could have been told the story, for Jesus began to speak of such things only at that time. The suggestion lies at hand indeed that it is a pictorial representation of his discussions with his disciples during these days, and that it has been misplaced by the evangelists. This would give a consistency of development in Jesus' ministry, possessing considerable verisimilitude. Beginning with premonitions and suggestions of opposition and conflict there would be a gradual approach to certainty. Jesus would pursue his way, making the kingdom, its characteristics and fortunes the center of his teaching, but little reference being made to its king. He would continue to hope that by his presence among the people he might win them to listen to him later on his conception of the Messiah. His hope would be dashed to the ground by the great apostasy. Then for the first time he would become convinced that fidelity to his duty meant death. This would account for the great struggle which is reflected in the experiences of these later days. The shrinking from death and the tremendous appeal of his disciples not to face it would be natural. But if at the beginning he had faced death and settled his life to such an issue, how could he be precipitated into such a crisis of soul by the thought of it now?

But if this question arises at all it is just as difficult to see how, following the decision in this period, and his complete acceptance of his destiny, he should have had such a conflict in Gethsemane.

<sup>20</sup> Professor B. W. Bacon, in the *American Journal of Theology*, II, 527-60, "The Autobiography of Jesus," makes the suggestion offered here.



Moreover, it was not the apostasy of the people that forced the conclusion that death was inevitable. It was the opposition and conspiracy of the rulers. That this began to develop very early is not only intrinsically probable but is also the statement of our sources.<sup>21</sup> Two of the temptations are specifically connected with the baptism and if we separate these two experiences in Jesus' life we shall have difficulty in finding any accounts in our gospels upon which we can rely. Thus Jesus knew from the very beginning that his career must be one of hardship. That it would involve his death he soon began to see even if it was not clear from the first. It had become an ineradicable conviction at the time of the great confession.

But this did not mean that it was welcome. On the contrary his constant temptation was to escape. He shrank from it with all his being. Why not take the less thorny path and perhaps in the end achieve the desired result? His soul was the scene of a mighty conflict. Peter urges him to do what his natural feelings prompt, but what in his innermost conviction he knows is not his duty. The vehemence of his reply is the evidence of the force of the appeal. For days and weeks it is his burden.<sup>22</sup> The contest wages within and is increased by the appeals and remonstrances of his disciples. At the close of one of these days he makes his way up the side of the mountain with his disciples. He must be alone with God in his crisis. As, perhaps throughout the night, he pours out his soul unto God "with strong crying and tears" he is heard. A new vision comes to him. He recognizes the hand that offers the bitter cup to be that of his Father. It is not simply the machinations of wicked men, it is the Father's will. It is not a sacrifice, a loss. It is an investment.<sup>23</sup> This is his moment of supreme consecration. He does not turn away from a supernal glory which is revealed to him to enter the shadows of humiliation and death. But, because he meets the supreme test and wins, he sees the Father face to face. His consecration opens the door to the inrushing of divine glory. His soul is flooded with

<sup>21</sup> According to the Fourth Gospel Jesus knew himself to be the suffering Savior from the beginning and this conception is consistently maintained throughout. See especially 9:16; 10:24; 11:53.

<sup>22</sup> Mark 8:31; 9:30; 10:32 and parallels.

<sup>23</sup> "His decease which he was about to *accomplish*" (Luke 9:13).



supreme joy. It overflows into his face. The light of a great peace sits upon his brow. "He was transfigured before them."<sup>24</sup>

A divine passion for the fulfilment of his mission takes possession of his soul and he goes forward with an energy and intensity that amazes his disciples.<sup>25</sup> As the night of Calvary falls he is seized with a great reaction. From his inmost soul he cries for escape if it is possible. But deeper still than this cry is the settled consecration of his life. By this he conquers. Gethsemane was not a solitary experience of Jesus' life. Behind every mount of Transfiguration is to be found the garden. Jesus knew it as the principle of his own life. He proclaimed it the law of ours.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Exod. 34:29-35; Acts 6:15; 7:55, 56.

<sup>25</sup> Mark 10:32, 38; Luke 12:50.

## Work and Workers

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AT a recent convocation of the University of Cambridge, England, among other dignitaries upon whom honorary degrees were bestowed was Rev. Professor George Adam Smith, now principal of the University of Aberdeen, who received the degree of Litt.D.

THE Chair in Old Testament literature and Hebrew language formerly held by Professor Smith at the Free Church College, Glasgow, and recently left vacant by his removal to Aberdeen, has just been filled by the election of Professor John E. McFadyen, of Knox College, Toronto. The departure of Professor McFadyen will be a serious loss to the furtherance of Old Testament scholarship in Canada. He has been effective in the propagation of historical Bible-study.

ON May 9 occurred the death of Dr. E. Kautzsch, professor of theology at the University of Halle. Dr. Kautzsch was known to Semitic scholars the world over as a first-class authority in his field, viz., Old Testament language and literature. His most conspicuous service was as editor of Gesenius' *Hebräische Grammatik*. This standard work he carried through from the twenty-second edition, which appeared in 1878, to the twenty-eighth edition, which appeared only last year. In addition to this, he was well known in Germany by his *Heilige Schrift des Alten Testament*, the third edition of which he had completed just prior to his death. His best-known English work, and one of the most important of all his productions, is his article on the "Religion of Israel," in the Extra Volume of Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*. This is as masterly a survey of the development of Hebrew religion as has yet been made. Dr. Kautzsch was born in 1841. He obtained the degree of Doctor of Philosophy from the University of Leipzig; he became associate professor of theology at the University of Leipzig in 1871, full professor at the University of Basel in 1872, was called to the University of Tübingen in 1880, and to the University of Halle in 1888.

ON April 30, 1910, Emil Schürer, Ordinary Professor of New Testament exegesis in the University at Göttingen, died, at the age of sixty-six years, lacking two days. He was born May 2, 1844, at Augsburg, and studied from 1862 to 1866 at Erlangen, Berlin, and Heidelberg. In 1868 he

received the degree of Ph.D. from the University of Leipzig, and in 1869 took his Licentiate of Theology there. In the same year he was appointed a lecturer at Leipzig, becoming Extraordinary Professor in 1873. In 1878 he became Ordinary Professor of New Testament exegesis at Giessen, whence he removed in 1890 to Kiel. In 1894 he went to Göttingen, as Ordinary Professor of New Testament exegesis. His most notable work is his *Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte*, which appeared in 1874; a third edition in 1898-1902, and a fourth edition in 1907-9 (except Vol. I) has been issued under the title, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi*. It is widely known to English readers as *A History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ*. Among his other works are *Das messianische Selbstbewusstsein Jesu* (1904); *Die älteste Christengemeinde im römischen Reiche* (1894); *Ueber den gegenwärtigen Stand der johanneischen Frage* (1889), etc. In 1877 Professor Schürer received the honorary doctorate of theology from Tübingen and in 1893 was made a corresponding member of the Prussian Academy of Sciences. In him New Testament scholarship has lost one of its leading figures. A fuller account of his life and work will appear in a later number of the *Biblical World*.

## Exploration and Discovery

### BIBLICAL TEXTS FROM THE PAPYRI

With a wealth of classical texts, new and old, and an interesting selection of Roman and Byzantine documents, the seventh volume of the *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* includes four biblical texts of remarkable antiquity. A vellum leaf from the latter part of the third century preserves parts of Genesis, chaps. 2 and 3, in the Septuagint version. A remarkable feature of this fragment is its use of a symbol of Hebrew derivation for the name of Jehovah, which, it will be remembered, the Septuagint usually renders by κύριος. In Septuagint manuscripts such a symbol has hitherto been found only in a Hexapla fragment published by Dr. C. Taylor in his *Cairo Palimpsests*. The symbol used in the new Oxyrhynchus Genesis is a development of the Hebrew abbreviation "יה" which occurs in later Hebrew manuscripts. In the present parchment it takes the form of a doubled Z with a horizontal stroke across the middle of both letters. Origen's remark that "in the most accurate copies the name is written in Hebrew characters" may therefore apply to Septuagint as well as Aquila manuscripts of his time, although it has been supposed to mean only the latter. On the whole this parchment is one of the oldest and the most interesting fragments of the Septuagint Genesis thus far published.

The apocalypse comprising chaps. 15, 16 of the apocryphal book which appears in the Vulgate as IV Ezra exists in a variety of other versions, but has not hitherto been found in Greek. Indeed it has been debated whether it ever existed in a Greek form. Oxyrhynchus now answers the question by disclosing a single parchment leaf complete, but of the smallest size, on which three verses (16:57-59) of what the Vulgate calls IV Ezra appear in Greek. These apocalyptic chapters, 15 and 16, scholars now call VI Ezra, and refer to the third, or even the second, century after Christ. The parchment is assigned by Dr. Hunt to the fourth century. The leaf with its margins measures only  $2\frac{1}{8}$  by  $3\frac{1}{4}$  inches, and the number 40 (M) at the head of the recto suggests that a moderate body of text preceded. Dr. Hunt infers that "VI Ezra" probably circulated by itself. Small as it is, this parchment leaf makes a substantial contribution to our knowledge of apocryphal literature.

Two leaves from a papyrus book of the fourth century supply parts of the Greek text of I Cor., chaps. 7, 8, and of Phil., chaps. 3, 4. In type



of text, the papyrus shows general agreement with the leading uncials, Vaticanus, Sinaiticus, and Alexandrinus. The new classical texts include large fragments from two lost poems of the Alexandrian Callimachus, the *Aetia* and the *Iambi*, as well as an unmistakable fragment of the *Misoumenos* of Menander. The documents comprise rescripts, letters, orders, accounts, and leases in great variety, dating from 22 B.C. to 600 A.D. Two Christian prayers and a Gnostic amulet, of the Byzantine time, are among the most interesting of these. The volume has been prepared and edited by Dr. Arthur S. Hunt, for so many years the associate of Professor Grenfell in the discovery and interpretation of Greek papyri.

EDGAR J. GOODSPEED

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## Book Reviews

**Revelation and Inspiration.** By REV. JAMES ORR., M.A., D.D.

New York: Scribner, 1910. xii+224 pages. 75 cents.

Since in these latter years Dr. Orr has become so pronouncedly and consciously *defensor fidei*, it must be confessed that his writings lack something of the freshness and inspiring quality of his works in other days. At the same time it may be well to have the faith expounded and defended from the traditional standpoint.

In the present work there is ever before the author's mind the dualism of naturalism and supernaturalism, of the human and the divine, of natural revelation and special revelation, of common event and miracle. For him the urgent questions are these: "Have we an authoritative divine revelation in the Bible? Is the Bible itself, in a unique and special sense, an inspired book? What are the limits of this inspiration, and how does it differ from the inspiration we ascribe to poets and other men of genius? Or is there a difference of kind at all?" (p. 1). The way of putting the questions suggests the answer that Dr. Orr is constrained to give. Professor John Watson, of Queen's University, is quoted as saying: "Hence, just as there was a primitive view of history and of nature, so there is a modern view which Christianity must incorporate on pain of extinction." To which Dr. Orr replies: "It might be truer to say that the Christianity which incorporates this 'modern' view is not *threatened* with extinction but is already extinguished" (pp. 11, 12). And there are some who are adding: Then so much the worse for Christianity!

Dr. Orr is always well-read, clear, vigorous, and from his point of view, fair. To one who does not live in the same sharply dualistic world his apologetic is not very relevant, but for those who occupy the same philosophic standpoint there will be found much of comfort and help. When the molds of thought are different, when the same terms have a different connotation, when the alternatives presented are not acceptable, detailed criticism is superfluous. Besides, in the case of so venerable, earnest, and courteous a scholar criticism would be ungracious. It is possible that some of the men at whom is aimed Dr. Orr's polemic are equally concerned to conserve essentially and in the last analysis the same great spiritual values. Certainly many will heartily agree in such statements as the following: "This leads, in closing, to the remark that, in the last resort, the proof of the inspiration of the Bible—not, indeed, in every particular,

but in its essential message—is to be found in the life-giving effects which that message has produced, wherever its word of truth has gone" (p. 217).

JOHN C. GRANBERY

PHILIPPI, W.VA.

**The Mission and Ministration of the Holy Spirit.** By ARTHUR CLEVELAND DOWNER, M.A., D.D. Edinburgh: Clark; New York: Scribner, 1909. xxx+347 pages. \$3.

This volume is perhaps the most elaborate treatise on the Holy Spirit that has appeared in recent times. The author's principal claim for the work is its comprehensiveness. He has aimed to cover the whole subject systematically. Though there are upward of twelve hundred books, or parts of books, belonging to all ages of the church, treating of the person and work of the Holy Spirit, yet there has been lacking the volume that has organized and systematized the whole subject. The early church was concerned largely with the question of the personality and godhead of the Spirit. The church of the early Middle Ages developed the doctrine of the procession and spiritual gifts. In the period of the Reformation the emphasis was laid on the renewing and sanctifying work of the Spirit in the individual heart. In modern times there have been a score or more new phases of the subject under discussion, but no systematic treatment of the whole field. The author fails to make use of the results of modern critical study of the Bible. He follows in most cases the proof-text method. Accordingly it is not difficult by laying emphasis on certain passages—and excluding others of equal importance—to maintain the separate personality and deity of the Holy Spirit throughout the whole biblical period. In other words, the writer fails to note the development of these ideas during that long and important period.

In dealing with the New Testament material, the treatment is more adequate, but even there the exegesis is often forced, as, for example, when the "speaking with tongues" of I Cor., chap. 14, is made to refer to speaking in foreign languages, in order to harmonize the conception with that given in the second chapter of Acts.

From the historical standpoint the better portions of the book are those which treat of the Spirit in the development of the Christian church.

From the homiletic point of view the volume will no doubt act as a stimulus to the Christian life of the church in general, and especially to the Anglican branch of it with which Dr. Downer is affiliated. The table of contents is especially well arranged for such a use.

WM. R. SCHOEMAKER

MANISTIQUE, MICH.

## New Literature

The most important books listed in these columns will receive notice in the book-review pages.

### OLD TESTAMENT

#### BOOKS

LOFTHOUSE, W. F. *The Bible, Its Origin and Authority.* New York: Eaton & Mains, 1910. Pp. 151. \$0.50.

This is a handy and concise introduction to the Bible. It falls into nine chapters dealing with the following subjects: (1) The Bible and Its Names; (2) The MSS and the Versions; (3) The English Versions of the Bible; (4) The Canon; (5) The Origin of the Books; (6) The Unity of the Bible; (7) The Bible and Other Sacred Books; (8) The Bible as Revelation; (9) The Spirit and the Word. The chapters present the simple elementary facts concerning the various subjects in an intelligible and interesting manner. All Bible readers need to possess such a digest of information in order to appreciate and understand that which they read. The bulk of the book is devoted to an objective presentation of facts. Only in the latter part does it become at all theological or subjective, and here many will differ from the author. The spirit throughout is reverential and the book should prove helpful to many who cannot afford the time and energy necessary for the mastery of more elaborate works.

YOUNG, JESSE BOWMAN. *Charms of the Bible—A Fresh Appraisal.* New York: Eaton & Mains, 1910. Pp. 255. \$1.00.

A devotional and homiletical treatise. The method and spirit are wholly uncritical and this fact militates against the value of the book. All we get is an undiscriminating panegyric. There was no especial need of another work of this sort. The author's loyalty to and love for the Bible are evident and refreshing.

#### ARTICLES

PINCHES, T. G. Sennacherib's Campaigns on the North-West and His Work at Nineveh, *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, April, 1910, pp. 387-411.

A well-informed discussion and résumé of the contents of the recently discovered Sennacherib prison.

BARNES, W. E. Nathan and David, *The Expositor*, May, 1910, pp. 449-56.

An interesting attempt to explain the fact of David's many and great sins being held consistent with the conviction that David was a man after God's own heart.

REISNER, GEORGE A. The Harvard Expedition to Samaria, *The Harvard Theological Review*, April, 1910, pp. 248-63.

A report of the last season's work by the field director of the Expedition. Eight excellent photographs accompany the report.

CASPARI, W. Das Vorkommen des Gottesnamen Jahwe und Elohim in den Samuelbüchern und seine Beziehung zur Geschichte des Textes, *Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift*, May, 1910, pp. 378-418.

Hexateuchal criticism was at first based largely upon the usage of the divine names. Caspari, following Köberle, feeling that the textual basis of this usage has not been examined with sufficient care, has carried through a study of the textual tradition on this matter as it concerns the books of Samuel. The specific attempt is to discover in the light of the Greek and other versions whether or not the Massoretic text may be confidently relied upon as representing the original usage of the divine



names in the books of Samuel. Investigations of this sort are of great importance both for textual and literary criticism.

WINTER, A. Analyse des Buches Amos, *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, April 1910, pp. 323-74.

A detailed analysis of the Book of Amos followed by a translation in strophic form. The author's point of view is that the book is not a connected literary production, but a collection of isolated, independent, and for the most part small and fragmentary oracles.

## NEW TESTAMENT

### BOOKS

GOGUEL, MAURICE. Les sources du récit Johannique de la passion. Paris: Fischbacher, 1910. Pp. 110.

A careful study of the passion narratives in John leads Professor Goguel to conclude that some slight elements in them are editorial touches, while other elements are elaborations of synoptic tradition, and still others represent early Christian tradition independent of, or perhaps parallel with, that which has entered into Mark.

GOGUEL, MAURICE. L'eucharistie, des origines à Justin Martyr. Paris: Fischbacher, 1910. Pp. ix+336.

Professor Goguel has undertaken a historical study of the Lord's Supper in the early church. He examines the Last Supper, the "breaking of bread" in the early Jerusalem church, the Eucharist in Paul, then in other New Testament writers, the Apostolic Fathers, particularly Clement of Rome and Ignatius, and finally in Justin. In conclusion the author reviews the development of the institution from Jesus to Justin, and adds an appendix on the religious meal outside of Christianity.

ALEXANDER, ARCHIBALD B. D. The Ethics of St. Paul. Glasgow: Maclehose, 1910. Imported by Macmillan. Pp. xxiv+377. \$2 net.

This painstaking study of Paul's ethics is of importance as presenting a comprehensive and elaborate study of that significant subject. The present work might indeed have been more critically based, more inductive in method, and more modern in general point of view. The connection of Paul with Greek thought and literature for example, was probably less close than is here assumed.





KEFR KENNA, SHOWING THE CHURCHES AND CONVENT

# THE BIBLICAL WORLD

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## Editorial

### THE ELEMENT OF PROGRESS IN CHRISTIAN THEOLOGY

Among the comments which the editorial article in our July issue on "A New Type of Christianity" has called forth two seem to us to justify and call for a further word from us.

The *Watchman* of Boston concludes its comment as follows:

On the whole, the trouble with the editorial in the *Biblical World* is that it gives the impression that it was written in a cloister by one who is ignorant of the character of the Christianity of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. It smells of books rather than of men. It sets up a man of straw, a type of Christianity which has not existed for hundreds of years, in order to criticize it. \* If the thirteen editors of the *Biblical World* will get outside the walls of the University and become acquainted with Christianity as it lives in the lives of men and women, they will learn that what they assume to be a new type of Christianity is not new in any sense, but is the Christianity of the common men and women who make up our churches.

The *Journal and Messenger* of Cincinnati says:

The editorial admits that "there is one question respecting it that is as yet unanswered. It will be scientific, ethical, practical, and altruistic; will it be religious?" We answer: Oh, yes, it will be religious; but it will not be Christianity. It will be rationalism, the same old fellow with whom we have battled for the decades and the century past, coming to us a little "transmogrified," but still the same old traitor. He prophesies "not the things that be of God, but the things that be of men." The editorial closes with this sentence: "It will not be the religion of authority; will it be the religion of the Spirit?" It is safe to answer in the negative. The religion of the Spirit gives the Spirit something to do. It looks to him for a work of grace, the regeneration of the soul. That is what the "new type of Christianity" does not recognize as needful. There is no Christ in it; no Holy Spirit in it. It cannot be Christian.



These criticisms cannot of course both be valid. What we have affirmed cannot be the Christianity of the common men and women who make up the churches, and at the same time quite out of the pale of Christianity. In fact each criticism is an answer to the other. We may legitimately appeal to the first writer to prove to the second that our views are not wholly un-Christian, but are commonly held by present-day Christians, and to the second to prove that what we wrote is not so commonplace as to be unworthy of utterance.

But there is a much more serious question at issue than the propriety of our utterance. We are glad to have the assurance of the *Watchman* that the views we stated are widely held. We ourselves affirmed that the type of Christianity we described was already in existence, and was only partly new. How new its new elements are, or how widely they are held, are matters of relatively little consequence. The more vital question is whether the existence of new elements in a type of Christianity condemns it, as several of those who have criticized our utterances seem to feel. Is Christianity intellectually immobile? Or is it, on the contrary, always open to the acceptance of new light, and consequent modification of old views?

On this point we believe it important steadfastly to maintain that the latter view, so far from being un-Christian, is integral to Christianity and essential to its strength and progress. As we have before affirmed in these pages, the capacity for receiving increments of truth and leaving behind those partial truths which are displaced by new and clearer perception of truth, was stamped on our religion by its Founder. Jesus not only pointed out the invalidity of certain elements of the Old Testament morality, and opened the eyes of men to larger views of truth, but he did this in such way as to imply that a like right belonged to others in proportion as they also possessed the requisite insight, which is itself conditioned on filial fellowship with God. The apostle Paul followed in the footsteps of his Master in this matter. With perhaps a less clear perception of the principle involved than Jesus possessed, he yet even more expressly affirmed the displacement of ordinances and statutes by principles of action that left to the individual large liberty and correspondingly large responsibility in respect to conduct. "If ye are led by the Spirit ye are not under law," he declared, and in that

declaration committed himself to the religion of the Spirit as against that of any other authority, and to the morality of love as against that of statute.

Now, in this principle, central in the teaching both of Jesus and of Paul, is involved the right and the duty of the church to be ever moving forward into larger knowledge of truth, and, if need require, to new conceptions of duty. Herein, moreover, is one secret of stability, not in unchangeableness of belief, not in adherence to the dogmas or practices of the past in the face of access of knowledge calling for their modification, but in steadfast adherence to the effort to find the truth, and to conform our action to the truth. It is on persistence in this effort that all other sciences found their claim to the attention and respect of men. In so far as Christian theology and ethics lag behind, grudgingly conceding the principle, they not only lose influence with thoughtful men, but belie the Spirit that gave Christianity its birth. It was the scribes and Pharisees that stood for the stability of immovableness; it was Jesus and Paul who defended the principle of progress in the perception of truth, with consequent revision and deepening of the definitions of truth and duty, and depended on these things to secure stability.

This is not to say that everything is fluid and uncertain. The great principles of the Christian religion and morality, faith in the Heavenly Father, and love toward our fellow-men—after the test of centuries of experience these abide unshaken and unshakable. And with them stand the revelation of God in the person of his Son Jesus Christ, the abiding presence and work of the Holy Spirit in the hearts of men of faith, the sinfulness of sin, the duty of repentance, the possibility of forgiveness and of the life of fellowship with God, issuing in a life of devotion, like that of Jesus, to the doing of God's will and the service of mankind.

These things remain unshaken in the hearts and faith of Christian men, not because they are in principle exempt from investigation, but because they are firmly attested in Christian experience. But there are many other matters with which theology has been wont to concern itself which neither in principle nor by experience are placed beyond the pale or necessity of investigation. Respecting all these, whether they pertain to the cosmogony of the Book of Genesis, or

theories of atonement, or the authority of Scripture, or the validity of the apocalyptic elements of New Testament eschatology, Christian thinkers have and must maintain the right of investigation and the duty of accepting the results of such investigation, whether these accord with views previously held or are perchance quite new. It still belongs to the scribe instructed unto the Kingdom of God to bring forth things both new and old. It is still in the power of the Holy Spirit to lead Christians into all truth.

We regret that our defense of this important principle of our religion should seem to any of our fellow-Christians to be essentially un-Christian. Their denial of the possibility of the gospel's capacity to appropriate our growing knowledge of God's universe forces us to the conviction that they have misread the New Testament, and unwittingly abandoned the position which Jesus occupied and for which the apostle Paul vigorously contended. But we are very far from affirming that they are therefore not Christians. For as in the days of the apostles, so now also there is room in the Christian church for the sincere and conscientious adherents of authority-religion, and for the emulators of the great apostle of freedom. Let every modern apostle and teacher give each to the other right hands of fellowship as a pledge that the gospel which they hold in common, though not indeed without those specific elements of difference which the experience of each demands, they will preach, each to those to whom each is sent, and, speaking the truth with fidelity to individual conviction, will speak it also in love.

## CANA OF GALILEE

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Cana in Galilee is mentioned only in the Fourth Gospel; here was the scene of the marriage feast (John 2:1, 11), the place of the healing of the nobleman's son (4:46-54), and the home of Nathanael (21:2). To the ordinary tourist in Palestine the site of this place is scarcely a matter of dispute. The carriage road from Nazareth to Tiberias bears him, within the hour, to the picturesque Kefr Kenna (lit. the *Village* of Kenna) with its Greek and Latin churches, its sacred waterpots—if he wishes to see them—and its undeniably picturesque village fountain. Here all the circumstances, the main road to the lake up which it is so easy to picture the anxious father coming to seek healing for his son; the spring, now by long association with the site become itself a sacred spot, and lastly the apparent unanimity of Christian tradition, all tend to impress the traveler. And yet there is little except ecclesiastical tradition to support the identification, so little indeed that it is strange that its claims should still be so largely admitted.

Among the first objections is the name itself. *Kana* in Greek almost certainly represents the Hebrew קנה *Kanah*, of which the Arabic equivalent (as we find [John 2:1] in the Arabic New Testament) is قانا —the hard Hebrew *Koph* corresponding with the Arabic *Kaf*. Now, the Kenna of Kefr Kenna is written كنا, with a soft *Kaf* ك which corresponds to the Hebrew כ *Kaph*. Although the letters seem almost the same to Western ears they are not interchangeable, and there is a marked difference in pronunciation. A further difference, not perhaps so important, is the doubling of the *nun*: *Kenna* instead of *Kana*. But beyond this, the actual name قانا *Kana*, the practical equivalent of the Hebrew קנה and the exact equivalent of the Greek *Kana*, is by no means unknown in Galilee. Firstly, we have عين قانا *ain Kana* "the spring of Kana," not far to the south of the village of Reineh close to Nazareth, a site



which the late Colonel Conder considered a possible one for Cana of Galilee; secondly, there is the large and important modern village of Kana, seven miles southeast of Tyre, which was erroneously identified by Eusebius and Jerome as the Cana of Galilee of the gospel, but which was fairly certainly the Kanah of Josh. 19:28; and thirdly, there is **خربة قانا** Khurbet Kana, the ruin of Kana, on the northern edge of the Battauf within sight of the hills of Nazareth and some eight English miles north of it. This Khurbet Kana was reidentified by the late Dr. Robinson (*Biblical Researches*, II, 346-49; III, 108)



THE SPRING AT KEFR KENNA

as Cana of Galilee, but he unfortunately reported that it was called by the natives Kana el Jalîl = Cana of Galilee. Were this the universal custom it would no doubt be an important confirmation of this view, but this is far from being the case; indeed, such a name is unknown to the unsophisticated fellahîn. On my recent visit there I had as guide a very intelligent native of Reineh who told me he had never heard any other name than Khurbet Kana, and whose answer to my question as to where was Kana el Jalîl, was "In the gospel." Far more important is the testimony of the late Rev. T. Zeller<sup>1</sup> of the Church Missionary Society, who passed many years in

<sup>1</sup> *Quarterly Statement P.E. Fund* (1869), 71 ff.

Nazareth, that he never heard such a name. In any argument regarding this site it is better to neglect the name Kana el Jalil as of altogether doubtful authenticity. Unfortunately the discrediting of this name has been used as an argument against the site.

But identity of name is not in itself enough to prove identity of site, and so, in order fairly to weigh the evidence of the rival sites, Kefr Kenna, which I have visited dozens of times, and the less-known Khurbet Kana, I have just paid a special visit to the latter place. I propose briefly to describe here both my route and the locality itself. Although off the ordinary tourist routes it is an easy site to visit from Nazareth, and I managed to see both Khurbet Kana and Tell Jefât—the site of Jotapata—and join my fellow-travelers who came from Nazareth by the carriage road, early in the afternoon. One route, doubtless the best during the winter and early spring months when much of the Battauf is a dangerous bog, lies through Seffûriyeh, the ancient Sepphoris. The way I took in the middle of April is more direct.

We left Nazareth at 6:15 A.M. and at first proceeded by the carriage road. From the top of the hill before the descent to Reineh there is a fine view northward. To the northwest, three miles distant, lay Seffûriyeh; somewhat more to the north, across the western extremity of the Battauf lay Kefr Menda, and on the mountains behind it Kaukeb was visible. The position of Khurbet Kana, almost due north, can easily be seen from this point, as it occupies a rounded hillock clearly defined from the mountains behind it, upon the northern border of the Battauf. The village of Rummaneh is immediately south of it upon the southern edge of the plain and Khurbet Ruma—an important ruin, the Roma of the Talmud—lies another mile to the west of Rummaneh. At 6:35 we passed the village fountain of Reineh and almost at once left the carriage road and took a path to the right which led us across a fertile, corn-filled valley up to the village of Meshhed.<sup>2</sup> This evidently occupies a site of importance, the earliest remains being contained in a flattened *tell* lying above and to the west of the modern village. The tomb of Nebi Yunas, i.e., the prophet Jonah, is shown here.<sup>3</sup> There are also rock-

<sup>2</sup> *El mesh-hed* means "the shrine."

<sup>3</sup> From the writings of various pilgrims the site would appear to have changed.

cut tombs around. This place is, by a very probable tradition, the site of Gath Hepher, the birthplace of the prophet Jonah (II Kings 14:25). After passing a small spring at 7 A.M. we took the left of two branching tracks. Kefr Kenna and a ruined site somewhat to its west called Khurbet Kenna were visible on our right—also the whole plain of Tor'an. Our road gradually descended down brushwood-covered slopes until we reached the winding valley which drains the Sahl Tor'an. Following this through fertile cultivated fields, at 8 A.M. we had opposite to us the ridge on which lies Rum-



KEFR KENNA  
From the Nazareth Road

maneh. This is clearly an ancient site, as is shown by the rock-cut tombs and cisterns, and it is probably that of the Rimmon of Zebulon (Josh. 19:13; I Chron. 6:77). Crossing the rocky ridge we descended into the plain of the Battauf which was dotted all over with yokes of oxen and flocks of goats. From here an almost direct pathway leads across the plain to Khurbet Kana, which we reached at 8:45 A.M. The season was then sufficiently advanced to allow of our having a secure path. Very different, however, was the experience of the late Dr. Thomson, author of *The Land and the Book* (II, 303), at this place. He writes



The day we crossed the Battauf the eastern half of it was a lake and the path from Rummaneh to Kana led through the oozy, spongy end of it—a most nervous ride. For two miles the horses waded through mud and water to the knees along an invisible path less than two feet wide which had been tramped down to a consistency sufficient to arrest the sinking foot for a moment; but, if the careless or jaded animal stepped on one side or the other, it sank into a quivering quagmire.

Before proceeding to describe Khurbet Kana I will briefly narrate the rest of my journey. There is a deep valley running nearly due east and west which, after reaching the western side of the hill on which lies Khurbet Kana, turns south to the plain; this isolates that hill from the mountains to its west. This valley is usually described as Wady Jefât, though my guide called it Wady Kana. Up this we rode. The southern slopes on our left were covered thick with dwarf oaks and terebinths. After ten minutes we reached a point where the wady divides;<sup>4</sup> we took the branch which ran in a northerly direction. In five minutes we reached an open plateau occupied by a bedouin encampment with flocks and herds. We asked to be directed to Khurbet Jefât, which we had come to seek, and we were led to a narrow neck of land connecting the mountain mass to the northwest with a great isolated hill to the southwest. The whole of this neck is covered thick with ruined walls, among which there are many large stones. At one point there is a rough pool for collecting rain water. The ruins, as they stand, belong to a much later age than that of Josephus, but I should have very little doubt but that the stones have been carried here from the hill above—Tell Jefât—the site of the strongly fortified city of Jotapata. The ruin—Khurbet Jefât—could never have been a defensible site; on the other hand, many visitors to Tell Jefât have remarked upon the extraordinary absence of ruins on the site of the fortress. I believe the above is the true explanation. Our bedouin guides now led us to the hill itself. It is a place of extraordinary natural strength, isolated on three sides by two very deep valleys with semi-precipitous slopes at many parts. It is, as Josephus describes, shut away among the mountains. Its one weak spot is the narrow neck to the northwest above referred to, but even on this side the summit of the hill is considerably higher than the ground around. The bedouin led us

<sup>4</sup> The two arms of this valley isolate the hill of Jefât from the surrounding country.



first around the sides of the hill to show us the many spacious caves—most of them at one time cemented to serve as reservoirs—which at several different levels honeycomb the surface. In some of these caves we found herds of cattle sheltering from the sun. The summit itself is a bare rock surface, cut in places to receive the foundations of walls and pierced by the openings of two or three cisterns. Although the destruction of the Jewish defenses against the Romans is complete, yet the general description of Josephus<sup>5</sup>—allowing for a certain degree of oriental exaggeration—so fits the site as to make its identification certain. We left at 10:15 A.M., rapidly retraced our steps down the wady, passed Khurbet Kana at 10:50, skirted the whole northern and eastern edges of the Battauf, and reached the southeast corner at 12:25. Here there is a steep ascent to the mountain ridge between the Battauf and the Plain of Tor'an. We reached the summit at 12:38. The view here is extensive on both sides. For a time we followed the remains of an ancient road running east and west and then took a diagonal line south of the village of Nimrîn and at 1:15 P.M. joined the carriage road close to Lûbieh.

We return now to Khurbet Kana. It does not seem to me that any adequate description of this place has been given. Robinson writes, "The situation is fine. It was once a considerable village of well built houses, now deserted. Many of the dwellings are in ruins. There are also several arches belonging to modern houses; but we could discover no traces of antiquity."<sup>6</sup> The late Rev. J. Zeller says: "It lies on a very narrow terrace, scarcely to be called a terrace, on the steep side of the hill bordering on the plain of the Battauf."<sup>7</sup> Guérin<sup>8</sup> gives a much more complete picture. The fact is, the remains lie on a rounded hill isolated on all sides, though connected by a low neck with the mountains to the north. The site is an important one, easily defended in olden days, as its sides are everywhere steep and the hills around at considerable distance. On the southern slopes of this hill some half-way up—perhaps two hundred feet above the plain—are the ruined walls of some fifty or sixty Arab

<sup>5</sup> Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, III, vii, 3-36.

<sup>6</sup> *Biblical Researches*, III, 108.

<sup>7</sup> *Quarterly Statement P. E. Fund* (1869), 71-73.

<sup>8</sup> Quoted in the *Memoirs of the P.E. Fund*, I, 313-14.

houses, some of which have recently been utilized as cattle pens. Even here are some half-hidden cisterns and traces of an important road. The remains, however, of real antiquity lie at a higher level, a point of which several writers appear to be unaware. Excavated in the strata of softer limestone running some yards below the summit plateau are a number of rock-cut cave-tombs; I visited as many as six in a few minutes. The roughly level hilltop is pierced in all directions with ancient cisterns. I saw over a dozen, and many more have their mouths hidden by earth or brushwood. There are extensive foundations of walls in all directions, and several large holes where vaults have fallen in. The whole surface is covered with small fragments of Roman pottery. Then can be no question that this site was occupied by a very considerable population in Roman and probably too in earlier times. The site and the remains reminded me much of et Tell—the site of Bethsaida—in the Bataihah.<sup>9</sup> It is certainly one of the strongest natural sites in the neighborhood. From the base of this steep hill the great plain of el Battauf stretches out east and south and west. From its summit the inhabitants of the town must have viewed all that happened on the whole plain. The Battauf is half a quagmire after the winter's rain, as the eastern end has no outlet and becomes water-logged; it must always have been unhealthy for permanent residence, and the modern villages around its edges are raised above its level. Cana, some four hundred feet up, must have had freedom from the evil influences of the marshes and considerably fresher breezes. The one drawback to the site is its absence of any spring; this, as has been mentioned, was compensated for by the construction of numerous cisterns. The neighboring fields must have been abundantly supplied with water, and possibly around its base flourished the reed which gave its name Kanah to the place. Even at the time of my visit a number of patches of marshy land were visible. The plain at the foot of Jebal Kana was covered with a rich crop of beans and farther out was being ploughed for the sowing of sesame.

It may be taken as certain that there was here a small but important and strongly situated town in New Testament times, and we have every reason to believe from the common survival of ancient

<sup>9</sup> See *Studies in Galilee*, 102-4.

names that the town was called Kana. It is mentioned that Herod the Great had his headquarters at a village of Cana in Galilee.<sup>10</sup> No site in this neighborhood would be more probable than this. Josephus in his *Life* says: "Now at this time my abode was in a village of Galilee which is named Cana."<sup>11</sup> And further in another passage he states that he lived in "the great plain, the name of which was Asochis."<sup>12</sup> Putting these passages together it appears evident that this is the spot indicated. It is possible, but not, I imagine, at all probable, that there were two villages of the name Kana within six miles, and almost within sight, of each other. This supposition is necessary if Kefr Kenna is the Cana of the Fourth Gospel.

It has frequently been urged as an objection to the Khurbet Kana site that it is off any highroad and therefore an unlikely spot for Jesus to visit, whereas Kefr Kenna is on the highroad from Nazareth to Tiberias. Now, as regards the latter statement, there is no question but that the present highroad is a result of the most important traffic in recent years having been that of pilgrims and tourists. Nazareth has an importance quite out of proportion to its position, as an obscure village, in Christ's time. The road has in spite of considerable physical difficulties been carried along its present route in order to enable travelers to visit these sites. The great Roman highroads ran east and west along the plains; one south of Nazareth along the northern edge of the great Plain of Esdraelon, another from Acca through Seffûriyeh (Sepphoris) and along the Plain of Tor'an. Kefr Kenna, it is true, would have been not far from this, but not on it. But we may be certain that Kana (i.e., the town represented by Khurbet Kana) was on a highroad. I have myself followed the evident traces of an ancient road which ran from Capernaum through Gennesaret, up the Wady Hamâm, past the Jewish city Arbela (now Irbid, with its old synagogue), past Hattîn, the Caphar Hattia of the Talmud, through the town, of name now unknown, whose remains, including those of a Jewish synagogue, are called Umm el 'Amed. From there the road skirted the northern edge of the Battauf till it reached Kana, when it must have divided, one branch having run up the Wady Jafât to Jotapata and Cabul (the Cabolo of Josephus), and the other more important branch passing through Kefr

<sup>10</sup> Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, I, 17, § 5; cf. § 3.

<sup>11</sup> *Vita*, § 17.

<sup>12</sup> *Vita*, 41.







Menda (also mentioned in the Talmud), through Asochis, to Ptolemais and Sepphoris. It is not mere inference that this route existed; there is mention of it in Josephus. In his *Life*, §71, we read that when Sylla, commander of the forces opposed to Josephus, "pitched his camp at five furlongs distance from Julias" (i.e., Bethsaida) he "set a guard upon the roads, *both that which led to Cana* and that which led to the fortress Gamala." The former of these roads was important enough to need a special guard because Cana and the neighboring Plain of Asochis were the geographical centers of the Jewish rising and the headquarters of Josephus and his party. If they were in those days the center of Jewish life it is probable the same was the case in our Lord's life, and if so there is an additional reason for his having pursued such a route. What route would he by choice have taken? The Roman highways along which passed the pride and pomp of Rome down to the degraded and Roman Tiberias, or the quieter route through a succession of Jewish towns and villages, down to the scene of his activity on the northern shore? We have a clear answer in his own words to his disciples (Matt. 10:5), "Go not into any way of the Gentiles." It would clearly appear to have been his own policy to confine his mission entirely to the Jewish centers. The time was short and, as he said to his disciples, "ye shall not have gone through the cities of Israel (as contrasted with those of the Gentiles) till the Son of Man be come" (Matt. 10:23, R.V.). It may be added that it is exceedingly likely that he would avoid the Romanized capital Sepphoris; but an even shorter route, which I have described, through Gath Hepher and Rimmon of Zebulun, would be available. To us a "sacred site" is intrinsically nothing, but if the identification I am here supporting is correct it opens up several new thoughts. Firstly, Cana was a more important place, on account of its naturally strong position, than modern writers have supposed; secondly, Jesus' usual route to Capernaum was a different one from that which most visitors to the country unthinkingly conclude, and indeed it was a route pursued by very few even of Bible students; and thirdly, it is interesting to notice that the labors of the Master were in the very center of the later Jewish disaffection, and some of them in the very spot which the rebel leader of that time actually made his headquarters.

There is one remaining aspect of the question which has still to be discussed, namely the tradition. To some minds the fact that a place has long been venerated by pious pilgrims will carry weight, to others it means nothing. As regards Cana of Galilee I hope to show by references to the writings of the mediaeval pilgrims that the tradition that Kefr Kenna was the site goes back no further than the seventeenth century and that from the earliest time from which we have any exact statements of locality the site of Cana has been at Khurbet Kana. It is true that there are some two or three loose statements from pilgrims who did not visit either site which appear to favor the Kefr Kenna site, but the reader will see how indefinite these are compared with the precise accounts we have from pilgrims who, in the majority of cases, had themselves visited the spot.

The references of the earlier pilgrims are far from definite. The "Holy Paula" (382-84) went by a "swift journey" to Nazareth, and thence to "Cana and Caphernaum, the witnesses of his miracles." The first reference which has any definiteness as regards geographical points is that of Sacwulf, who visited Palestine about 1102-3. He writes:

From Nazareth, Chana of Galilee—where our Lord changed the water into wine at the marriage—is distant about six miles to the north, situated on a hill. There is nothing left there except the monastery which is called Architriclini [i.e., the "house of the ruler of the feast"]. Between Nazareth and Chana of Galilee about half-way is a village which is called Roma where all pilgrims going from Accaron to Tiberias are entertained, having Nazareth on the right and Galilee on the left.

The reader with the sketch map before him will see at a glance that the description can only refer to Khurbet Kana. The details are so exact that when some of the contemporary pilgrims,<sup>13</sup> quoting one from the other, speak of Cana in Galilee being two miles from Sepphoris "toward the east," it seems more probable that the points of the compass have been mixed up than that they mean a different place. Those who study the Pilgrim texts will see this mixing-up of north and east is not unknown in other places. There is no writer of this time who gives a clear account of Cana of Galilee whose testimony evidently refers to Kefr Kenna. The order in which the

<sup>13</sup> As, for example, John of Würzburg, Theodorich, and Pseudo Beda all in the twelfth century.

place names come is no decisive evidence. Thus Joannes Phocas (1185) writes:

Now, the first place after Ptolemais is Semphori [i.e., Sepphoris], a city of Galilee, almost entirely uninhabited and displaying not even a remnant of its former prosperity. After this is Cana, a very small fortified place, as it appears at this day. Here the Saviour turned the water into wine. And now comes the city of Nazareth, etc.

This the late Sir Charles Wilson considered as evidence that Cana was at Kefr Kenna, but it is not so if the good pilgrim was deliberately making a round of the holy sites. This is the order in which he would have visited them had Cana been Khurbet Kana.

An anonymous pilgrim before 1187 writes, "It is one mile from Nazareth to Sephoria where St. Anne was born. From thence it is six miles to Cana of Galilee." The distances are only moderately correct, but fit Khurbet Kana much better than Kefr Kenna. The evidence of the German monk Burkhard (about 1280) is very clear. He writes:

In the second division of the eastern quarter starting from Acre to the south-east, four leagues from Acre one comes to Cana of Galilee, where the Lord turned water into wine. The place is shown at this day where the six waterpots stood and the dining-room wherein the tables were. Now these places, like almost all the other places wherein the Lord wrought any work, are underground, and one goes down to them by many steps into a crypt. . . . To the north Cana of Galilee has a tall mountain on whose slope it stands. At its foot on the south side it has a very fair plain which Josephus calls Carmelion; it reaches as far as Sephora and is exceeding fertile and pleasant. About two leagues to the south of Cana of Galilee on the road from Sephora to Tiberias is a village named Ruma, wherein the prophet Jonah is said to have been buried. This village stands beneath the mountain which comes from Nazareth and bounds the aforesaid valley of Carmelion on the south side.

Here again, the mountain to the north, the plain to the south stretching to Sepphoris, the mention of Ruma, etc., all make it absolutely clear to which site reference is made.

In 1321 the Venetian Marino Sanuto visited the Holy Land and wrote a book illustrated with maps. In the descriptive part he refers to Cana of Galilee in almost the words of Burkhard, and in the map he puts Cana clearly, with a mountain to its north and a plain stretching south to Sepphoris.



Just a century later John Poloner visited the Holy Land, and in his description of Cana of Galilee uses almost the same words as those of Burkhard:

Four miles east of Acre is Cana of Galilee, where Christ turned the water into wine. The place of the wedding feast is a cave hewn out of the rock which holds a few men and the places are shown where stood the waterpots and the seats and where the tables were set. These places are underground, like very many other holy places, as that of Christ's annunciation and nativity. Two leagues to the south of Cana in Galilee is the city of Sephor [Sepphoris].

In addition to these notes of Christian pilgrims we have a side light from the Arab pilgrim Nasîr î Khusran, who visited Palestine in 1047 A.D. In the course of his journey he came to Kefr Kenna, of which he says:

To the southward of this village is a hill on the top of which they have built a monastery. It has a strong gate and the tomb of the prophet Jonas<sup>14</sup>—peace be upon him—is shown within. Near the gate of the monastery is a well and the water thereof is sweet and good.

The "well" is probably the fountain, and the monastery, which was ruined after the Crusades, was probably, as we shall see, the cause of the selection of this site as the true site of Cana. The most noticeable thing is that there is no mention whatever of any Christian tradition of this spot being the site of the miracle; the tradition that the tomb of Jonah was there is the explanation of the presence of the monastery.

Now, how came it about that whereas down to the fifteenth century there was apparently a continuous tradition which placed Cana of Galilee at Khurbet Kana, yet in the seventeenth century we find first uncertainty and then the general verdict for Kefr Kenna? The fact seems to be that during the interval Palestine was a place which could not be visited,<sup>15</sup> beyond Jerusalem and a few centers near the coast, on account of the state of disorder and the hostility of the Moslems. Several of the Galilean sites became changed,<sup>16</sup> and when in the beginning of the seventeenth century the monk Quaresmius (about

<sup>14</sup> Now shown at el Meshhed to the west of Kefr Kenna.

<sup>15</sup> There are writers who mention Cana during this time, but they only quote accounts mentioned above. There are no new pilgrim journals.

<sup>16</sup> See *Studies in Galilee*, 87.



162c) set himself to reidentify the spots, he had to do so without any continuous local tradition. He made (as I believe) the serious blunder of mistaking the purely Arab ruins at Minieh for those of Capernaum. With regard to Cana of Galilee he knew also of the Khurbet Kana site, but finding Kefr Kenna easier to reach from Nazareth (quite probably it was the only route through Galilee to the lake safe for a Christian pilgrim), and finding extensive remains (as I believe) of the above-mentioned monastery, he gave his verdict in favor of Kefr Kenna, but without, be it noticed, venturing to reject the other tradition. I quote from the footnote in Robinson's *Researches*, II, 347, the actual words of Quaresmius:

Posterior haec sententia mihi valde probabilis videtur (licet alteram rejicere non audeam) quoniam proximior Nazareth . . . at quia potest adinveniri memoria ecclesiae constructae in loco miraculi.

From this time down to modern times Kefr Kenna has been the site generally accepted by ecclesiastics both Roman and Greek. These churches having now committed themselves to this view to the extent of having built memorial chapels at the site, it is too much to expect them, as bodies, to change; but for those who wish to form their opinions on independent grounds I would submit there is a very strong balance of evidence, philological, historical, geographical, and traditional, in favor of the still deserted and neglected ruin of Khurbet Kana.

## THE RECENTLY DISCOVERED ODES OF SOLOMON

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Mr. J. Rendel Harris, the distinguished Birmingham scholar, has published from a manuscript hailing from the region of the Tigris a Syriac work which he has identified as *The Odes and Psalms of Solomon*.<sup>1</sup> It is a discovery of first-class value. As a document belonging probably to the first century of our era and to the Judaism or Christianity of that critical age in the religious history of the world, it must at once excite our interest for its possibilities of information on the period for which most of all we desire fresh light. And apart from its historical importance, it is withal a document of unique religious value, as it contains mystical compositions of a very high order which are bound to merit a place in the world's religious literature. Moreover it actually opens up to the critical student some unknown fields which promise to be of extraordinary value in the history of the connecting links between the old and new dispensations.

The manuscript is written in Syriac, which is not a very promising language from which to expect much of original religious worth; it is of fairly modern date. It contains fifty-eight odes or songs (to use a word which is applied to many of the Old Testament psalms in their titles). The last seventeen of these poems prove to be a Syriac version of the so-called Psalms of Solomon, which have been preserved to us in the Greek, itself doubtless a translation from the Hebrew, and which are Pharisaic compositions belonging to the age of Pompey's conquest of Jerusalem, ca. 63 B.C.<sup>2</sup> As providing us with a fresh text for the criticism of these psalms, for which there is no large manuscript apparatus, the new publication is of sufficient interest. It appears to be a translation of the Greek, however, and does not add very much to our knowledge of the original text.

But the novel part of the "find" is the balance of the Odes.

<sup>1</sup> *The Odes and Psalms of Solomon* (Cambridge University Press, 1909).

<sup>2</sup> Ryle and James, *Psalms of the Pharisees, Commonly Called The Psalms of Solomon* (Cambridge University Press, 1891); B. Pick, in the *Presbyterian Review* (October, 1883), 775 ff. Both give text and translation.

Briefly to summarize Harris' convincing induction, these compositions prove to be a work, or the major part of a work, which was known in the early church as the Odes of Solomon. These are referred to in several of the catalogues of the holy books, e.g., in some of the so-called stichometries, and in Lactantius, a writer of the fourth century. Further, there is an ancient gnostic book called the *Pistis Sophia*, preserved only in the Coptic, which contains five extensive quotations, along with commentaries thereupon, from a work which it calls the Odes of Solomon; the Coptic uses the actual Greek word "ode."<sup>3</sup> This Solomonic composition is cited in full faith as Scripture, and thus in certain quarters was rated of much higher importance than in those ecclesiastical lists where it stands outside the canonical groups. Four of these quotations are now found in their original context, in Syriac form, in the present manuscript. One of them alone is not found in our text, although it is cited as from the nineteenth ode. Harris acutely concludes that in the text before the compiler of *Pistis Sophia* (as also in the stichometries), the Psalms of Solomon preceded the Odes and as the former numbered eighteen, the nineteenth hymn of the combined works would be the first of the Odes. Now the first portion of our manuscript is lost, and from a reference in Lactantius to "the nineteenth ode" which turns out to be a quotation from the seventeenth of the existing Odes, the missing portion must have contained the first two odes. The first ode can thus, in part at least, be supplied from the *Pistis Sophia*; the second one is altogether lacking, along with the opening of the third ode. Originally then the Odes numbered forty-two. We have thus recovered, almost *in toto*, albeit in Syriac translation, a work which once enjoyed in certain Christian circles full canonical authority, and in the church at large at least a secondary respect, enough to cause it to be listed with the Canon. The Syriac version is apparently taken from a Greek composition, but comparison with the probable history of the Psalms of Solomon makes it likely that a Hebrew original underlay the Greek.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Schmidt's (German) translation of the *Pistis Sophia* may be found in von Gebhardt and Harnack's *Texte und Untersuchungen*, VIII.

<sup>4</sup> This may be argued from the evidently Semitic character of the Odes, and also, more stringently, from some faults in the consecution of tenses, which can best be explained from a hypothetical Hebrew original.

Coming now to the literary character of these Odes, we find that they are mystical compositions of very remarkable character. Perhaps their nature may best be set forth by digesting some of them in brief titles, as follows:

- Ode
1. The Lord My Crown.
  3. The Love of the Beloved.
  4. The Praise of Faith.
  5. Trust and Assurance against Enemies.
  6. The Irresistible Flood of the Knowledge of the Lord. (Cf. Isa. 11:9.)
  7. The Lord's Condescension.
  8. Summons to Joy to the Quiet. (Cf. Zeph. 3:12, and the Beatitudes.)
  9. The Crown of Truth.
  11. The Vision of Paradise.
  12. The Praise of the Word. (Cf. the praise of Wisdom in the Old Testament and Apocrypha.)
  13. The Lord Our Mirror.
  15. Knowledge and Immortality.
  16. God's Work in Nature. (Cf. Pss. 8, 19.)
  18. Victory and Perfection vs. Error and Damnation.
  19. The Milk of God.
  20. The Priestly Service of God.
  23. Thy Mystical Letter.
  28. The Patience of the Saint.
  30. The Living Waters of the Lord.
  33. The Summons of Grace.
  24. "All is Upper, Nothing Lower."
  35. The Salvation of the Lord.
  36. The Exaltation of the Singer.
  38. The Journey of the Soul with Truth, and the Vision of Destruction.
  39. The Lord's Bridge over the Flood of Destruction.
  40. The Praises of God; the Joy of Salvation.

A few quotations will serve to give some of the original flavor of these beautiful psalms.

He loves me, for I should not have known how to love the Lord, if He had not loved me. For who is able to distinguish love, except the beloved? I love the Beloved and my soul loves Him, and where His rest is, there also am I; and I shall be no stranger, for with the Lord Most High and Merciful there is no grudging. . . . He that is joined to Him that is immortal, will himself become immortal; and he who is accepted in the Living One, will become the Living One (Ode 3).

There is here the romanticism of the Canticles, and the mysticism of St. John.



Thou hast given thy heart, O Lord, to Thy believers; never wilt Thou fail, nor be without fruits. For one hour of Thy Faith is more precious than all days and hours. . . . Thou hast given us Thy fellowship; it was not that Thou wast in need of us, but that we are in need of Thee (Ode 4).

In His simplicity His sweetness has made small His greatness (Ode 7).<sup>5</sup>

The dwelling-place of the Word is man, and its truth is Love (Ode 13).

No way is hard, where the heart is simple. Nor is there any wound where the thoughts are upright. Nor is there any storm in the depth of illuminated thought (Ode 34).

Several of the odes are introduced with charming analogies, reminding us of the Songs of Ascent in the Psalter, e.g., Pss. 123, 131. Thus:

As the hand moves over the harp, and the strings speak, so speaks in my members the Spirit of the Lord, and I speak in His love (Ode 6).<sup>6</sup>

As the impulse of passion toward evil, so is the impulse of joy toward the lovely (Ode 7).<sup>7</sup>

As the eyes of a son to his father, so are my eyes, O Lord, at all times toward Thee (Ode 14).

As the sun is the joy to those that seek for its day, so is my joy the Lord; because He is my Sun, and His rays have lifted me up, and His light has dispelled all darkness from my face (Ode 15).

Some of these odes resemble closely the canonical Psalms in their expressions of trust and assurance against enemies; indeed the latter are distinctly the models for many of them. In so far then we have an interesting manifestation of the survival of Jewish hymnology down into the Christian church, something which was suspected from the charming canticles in the opening chapters of St. Luke and from the snatches of hymns scattered through the New Testament. But now we possess in these Odes a very considerable collection of this desiderated material.

However, these compositions move in spiritual fields which are distinctly different from the atmosphere of the Psalter. They possess a terminology and betray a cast of thought which make us instinctively associate them with the New Testament literature. A score of phrases and words can illustrate this point: such terms as faith, hope,

<sup>5</sup> My translation here differs from Mr. Harris'.

<sup>6</sup> This analogy is a commonplace in the theology of inspiration, but here is the deeper strain of the believer's consciousness of the divine touch.

<sup>7</sup> Again I differ from the editor's translation.

love; grace, joy, peace, salvation; knowledge, the Word (never the Law); life, light, immortality, Paradise. Several of the odes are of apocalyptic character; the singer experiences "the ascent of the soul"—the very expression occurs in 35:8; this is an idea with which we first come in contact in Enoch, and which became characteristic of the Jewish apocalyptic literature. The poet is led by the truth and given to see the things of heaven and hell, although all is conceived in a gentle, beautiful spirit, quite the reverse of the fierce and Pharisaeically righteous eschatologists of Judaism. Indeed it is gentler than the like passages in the New Testament. But only a reading of the Odes themselves can bring out the full force of this comparison with the New Testament literature.

Are there any internal marks which will serve to date the Odes, and so enable us to relate them historically with that literature? One ode fortunately gives us a clue of time; the fourth begins thus: "No man, O my God, changeth Thy holy place; for Thy sanctuary Thou hast designed before Thou didst make other places" (with reference to the Rabbinic notion of the ideal pre-existence of Jerusalem from eternity). The Temple must still have been standing then when that ode was written, and so the *terminus ad quem* for the collection as a whole is 70 A.D. These Odes then belong to the very age of the composition of the New Testament books, and that they are Christian seems to be settled by definite theological references to the faith of the Christian church. Some of the more patent references are as follows: the formula of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit (19 and 23); "I am named the Light, the Son of God" (36); the birth from the Virgin along with the curious tradition that she needed no midwife (19); the sufferings of Christ in humility (31); the sign of the Cross by the outstretched arms of the worshiper (27 and 42); the descent into hell to redeem the shades who demand life of the Lord (42), one of the most important and popular articles of faith in the primitive church, enshrined for us in a little-understood article of the Apostles' Creed. The work appears then to be Christian.

But this solution of the historical problem is not as easy as it seems. References to Christian doctrine are found in only fifteen of the forty-two odes. There is no allusion, even in the symbolic way so characteristic of early Christian literature, to the sacraments,

or to the order of the church; once the singer speaks of himself as performing the function of a priest, but only in an individualistic, mystical sense. There is no ecclesiastical sentiment; there is in the background a company of like-minded singers, but this is nothing more than a free association of poets. There is not an allusion to the Christian tenets of sin and forgiveness; grace is mediated through knowledge, or *gnosis*, as the Greek would have it. With one exception there is absence of direct ethical teaching as a result of faith, and of inculcation of love and duty to fellow-men. The piece of early Christian literature closest akin to the Odes is the charming Epistle to Diognetus; but that composition with all its spirit of free religion is nevertheless suffused with the sense of the church as a distinct citizenry in the world. Thus Mr. Harris in his commentaries on the several odes again and again remarks that there is nothing distinctly Christian in the one under consideration, or that at least the Christian element may be confined to a few verses. Often the language might be Christian, but there is no certainty. May we suppose that the home of the Odes was some Jewish-Christian sect—in his manifest uncertainty the editor prefers this ambiguous adjective—Ebionitic, Essene, or what not? But just where can the work be assigned? It is not gnostic in the technical sense of the word, any more than St. John's Gospel is gnostic; its christological allusions are entirely orthodox. There is no reference to the fraternities and sacraments of the gnostic and other sects which marked them more distinctly than the Catholic church. A most interesting and provoking problem is advanced by the hypothesis of the Christian origin of these Odes, although on their face, with respect to certain passages, they are unqualifiedly Christian.

Too short a time has yet elapsed for the scholarly world to take up the debate, but one, the master, Harnack, has grappled at once with the problem. In a recent monograph,<sup>8</sup> which presents an independent German translation of the Odes by Flemming, he not only indorses Harris' modestly expressed view of the value of this discovery, but expresses himself in the strongest terms as to its epoch-making importance. Nothing so valuable in this field he holds has been discovered since the finding of the Teaching of the Twelve

<sup>8</sup> In *Texte und Untersuchungen* (1910), XXXV, No. 4.



Apostles. In this monograph Harnack addresses himself to the problem: Jewish or Christian? The hermaphrodite term "Jewish-Christian" offers him no solution. To sum up briefly, his result is as follows: The christological allusions are interpolations, at the most one or two of the Odes may be in large part or wholly of Christian origin. To prove his thesis he subjects all these passages to a severe criticism to discover whether they are germane to the context, and it must be admitted that in many cases he makes good his point, that, if they are left out, not only are they not missed, but the sense of the passage as a whole is improved.<sup>9</sup> It is not the present writer's province to express an opinion on this criticism; each student must draw his own conclusions from study of the originals. It is sufficient here to observe that a critical discussion of the Odes has begun which is bound to assume large proportions and to bring the new discovery into the front of theological argument.

But there is an important corollary to Harnack's critical thesis, on which he does not hesitate to insist. If we cut out those few Christian passages, there is left a body of genuine Jewish literature, which breathes the thought and language of much of what we have been accustomed to consider as peculiarly Christian. These Odes are especially akin to the Johannine literature of the New Testament which Christian piety as well as much of Christian theology regards as the most distinctive portions of the Canon, offering a mystical Christianity within Christianity. Where did this Johannine atmosphere with its unique terminology arise? Did it spring into being out of the Beloved Disciple's experience? Or is it a product of philosophical schools in the church which formed their theology and vocabulary and somewhere in the second century ripened in the production of the books that the church has ascribed to John? No, says Harnack, that Johannine quality existed before Christianity, the present Odes are the proof; the doctrines of love and joy, of immortality and life, of the Lord and the Word, were cherished before John. Probably he, or whoever was the writer of the Fourth Gospel, was brought up in such a circle as that which produced these Odes; and when he became a Christian, Christ incarnated, crystallized

<sup>9</sup> It should be recalled that many of the Jewish apocalyptic Apocrypha have been interpolated by Christian hands.



for him all that yearning mysticism of love and deathlessness. These Odes would not explain what Christ was to St. John, but they would show us the molds of thought into which the evangelist ran all that he had found and experienced, "what he had heard and seen and handled concerning the Word of Life." This corollary agrees with the present position of New Testament criticism which demands that we look for a large preparation in ideas and language for the definite forms which Christianity so promptly assumes. And the corollary pleases Harnack, for it fits in with his view of the early composition of the New Testament books and his acceptance of much of the church's tradition concerning their authorship; for now with these Odes it is not necessary to go down into the second century to explain the origin of the Johannine literature. Here, then, an outlook of wide and fruitful promise is presented for the history of the origins of Christianity.

Where Harris and Harnack have led the way, a host of scholars will follow, and a literature of interpretation and criticism will soon gather about this document. But let me again advise the reader that, quite oblivious of date and criticism, he will find enjoyment and refreshment in these Odes of Solomon; whether they be Jewish or Christian, they are beautifully mystical, and mysticism is the coin of exchange of all religion.

## "THE TREE OF THE KNOWLEDGE OF GOOD AND EVIL"

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It is not the purpose of this paper to consider the significance of the story of the Fall, its relation to the myths of other nations, the critical problems connected with it, or any of the other interesting and important questions suggested by the narrative as a whole; but solely the meaning of the phrase "the knowledge of good and evil" in Gen., chaps. 2 and 3. The expression is found, with some variations, in four passages: Gen. 2:9, "And out of the ground made Jehovah God to grow every tree that is pleasant to the sight and good for food; the tree of life also in the midst of the garden, and the tree of the knowledge of good and evil." Gen. 2:17 contains the command: "Of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, thou shalt not eat of it." In 3:5 the serpent is introduced as saying to the woman: "God doth know that in the day ye eat thereof, then your eyes shall be opened, and ye shall be as God, knowing good and evil." Finally, according to 3:22, "Jehovah God said, Behold, the man is become as one of us, to know good and evil."

What does the author of the narrative mean by this "knowledge of good and evil"? The generally accepted view is that the tree of the knowledge of good and evil was so-called because it possessed the property of imparting a capacity for moral distinctions.<sup>1</sup> Others consider the phrase an illustration of a common "Semitic idiom which expresses the whole by means of two categories under one or other of which everything or everybody is included." According to this interpretation, the words "good and evil" would be without moral significance, the phrase would be equivalent to "everything," and

<sup>1</sup> *Am. Jour. of Theol.*, I, p. 913 ff.; A. R. Gordon, *Early Traditions of Genesis*, 161; S. R. Driver, *The Book of Genesis*, in *loc.*; W. R. Harper, *Biblical World*, III, 176 ff.; F. Delitzsch, *New Comment. on Genesis*, 138; A. Dillmann, *Com. on Gen.*, 138-39; K. Budde, *Biblische Urgeschichte*, 65 ff.; H. Strack, *Genesis*, 15; *Studien und Kritiken* (1885), 764.

the "knowledge of good and evil" would be the knowledge of everything, or knowledge in general.<sup>2</sup> The final choice between these two interpretations must be based upon a careful examination of all the relevant facts, and to this examination we may now proceed.

First of all may be considered the linguistic argument. Turning to the *Hebrew and English Lexicon* by Brown, Driver, and Briggs, we find under דָּעָה *d* the remark, "especially knowledge with moral quality, Gen. 2:9, 17"; but we cannot close the inquiry by simply accepting this statement. "That there is a Semitic idiom—it is found also in other languages—which expresses the *whole* by means of two categories under one or other of which everything or everybody is included" is beyond doubt. Driver (*Deuteronomy*, on 32:36) gives several illustrations. For example, "there is none remaining, shut up or at large" (Deut. 32:36) means "there is none whatever remaining"; "to destroy the moist with the dry" (Deut. 29:19) means "to destroy everybody"; etc. The question is, does the phrase דָּעָה טוֹב וְרָע belong to the same class?

The adjectives טוֹב and רָע, good and evil, used sometimes as nouns, and the corresponding verbs, הִיטִיב and הָרַע (both Hiphil forms), to do good and to do evil, occur frequently together; hence it is not difficult to determine their meaning according to *Sprachgebrauch*. That these words, when standing alone, sometimes refer to the morally good or morally evil no one can doubt; it is also clear that at times they have a moral significance when they occur together. This is the case for example in Amos 5:14, 15; Isa. 5:20; Mic. 3:2; but these verses do not offer exact parallels to the Genesis passage, because (1) there does not exist the same close grammatical connection between the two words, and (2) the reference is not to the *knowledge* of good and evil.

There are similar combinations in which the moral element is absent. In Jer. 42:6 the meaning is not, "whether the word of Jehovah be morally good or morally evil," but rather, "whether it be favorable or unfavorable," which is practically equivalent to "what-

<sup>2</sup> J. Wellhausen, *Prolegomena to the History of Israel*, Eng. transl., 301-2; *Studien und Kritiken* (1885), 764; R. Smend, *Religionsgeschichte*, 120-21; K. Marti, *Geschichte der israelitischen Religion*, 179-80; B. Stade, *Alttestamentliche Religion*, 240; H. Gunkel, *Genesis, in loc.*, W. H. Bennett, *Genesis*, 95; *Expository Times* (1909), 427.



ever it may be." In Job 30:26 "good" is equivalent to prosperity, "evil" to calamity. The meaning of "we cannot speak unto thee bad or good," in Gen. 24:50, is: Jehovah has decided the matter, there is nothing whatever for us to say. Gen. 31:24 states that Laban was commanded not to speak to Jacob "either good or bad," which means that he is not to say anything about the matter for which he means to call Jacob to account.<sup>3</sup> In this connection may be mentioned passages in which are found the corresponding verbs "do good" and "do evil." In Isa. 41:23 the idols are urged to "do good and do evil," that is, to do anything whatsoever. In Jer. 10:5 it is said of the idols that they can do neither good nor evil, which means, that they can do nothing at all. That is also the meaning of the phrase in Zeph. 1:12. In all these passages the moral element is absent, and in most cases "good and evil" is practically equivalent to "everything."

The same is true of passages in which "to know" or a similar verb is connected with "good and evil." In II Sam. 14:17 it is said of the king that he is as the angel of Jehovah, "to hear (or discern, לִשְׁמֹעַ) good and bad"; which means that nothing is hid from the king, he knows everything (vs. 20). According to I Kings 3:9 Solomon prays for an understanding heart, that he may "discern between good and evil." Now, while a judge is called upon to pass judgment in cases where the morally good and the morally evil are involved, the expression here is broader in meaning; it includes everything that demands judicial insight and discretion. This brings us finally to passages in which "good and evil" is connected with the verb "know" (יָדַע). In the first place II Sam. 19:36, where Barzillai is said to have asked David: "Can I discern (יֵדַע) between good and bad?" The primary reference seems to be to the power of distinguishing between things pleasant and unpleasant or, in a more general sense, of making any distinctions whatsoever. The context forbids the limitation to moral distinctions. Isa. 7:15, 16 may also be considered, though the expression is slightly different. Some commentators interpret the words in this passage as referring to the development of moral consciousness, but with this interpretation there arises a discrepancy

<sup>3</sup> The text of Ps. 39:3 is emended by Hitzig and Baethgen to furnish the same idiom, with the same meaning.



between the sign of Immanuel and the one in 8:3, 4, for the capacity of making moral distinctions presupposes attaining an age which would make the event much later than is suggested in 8:4 or is demanded by the whole connection. Hence it is much more probable that the prophet is thinking of the time when the child will begin to make intelligent choices of any sort. The nearest parallel, perhaps, to the Genesis passage is Deut. 1:39, "and your children, that this day have no knowledge of good and evil." These words are interpreted by Driver, Steuernagel, Bertholet, and others to mean, "who are morally irresponsible, and consequently no parties to the guilt of their fathers." The context makes this the natural interpretation, and yet the more general interpretation, "who have no knowledge at all," is not impossible.

To sum up, the study of the passages in which the expression "good and evil" occurs, leads to the following results:

1. While the terms "good" and "evil," when standing by themselves, and in certain combinations have a moral significance, there is only one passage similar to the expressions in Genesis in which the presence of a moral element is at all probable; and even here some uncertainty exists.

2. In many passages the moral element is absent. In some cases "good and evil" is equivalent to pleasant and painful, favorable and unfavorable, prosperity and calamity, etc.; in other cases the phrase is simply an illustration of the common Semitic idiom to which reference has been made, "good and evil" meaning simply "all" or "everything."

Linguistically, therefore, there is little in favor of the view which sees in the tree of the knowledge of good and evil a tree whose fruit may supply the capacity for making moral distinctions; on the other hand, there is much in favor of the view which sees in the Genesis passage a reference to the power of distinguishing between things useful and harmful, pleasant and unpleasant, advantageous and disadvantageous, or even in a more general sense, knowledge of everything, or, knowledge in general.

These different meanings of the phrase "good and evil" are recognized even by some who defend the *moral* interpretation;<sup>4</sup> but

<sup>4</sup> Delitzsch, *New Com. on Gen.*, 138, note.

they insist that the context in the Genesis passages decides the case in favor of the *moral* interpretation. We may attempt, therefore, in the second place, to discover what light, if any, the context throws upon the question. Whatever the knowledge of good and evil may be, it is clear that the author considers it to have been in the beginning exclusively a divine possession, that Jehovah did not want man to have it, but that it became his as a result of the eating of the fruit; for it was after man had eaten that Jehovah could say: "The man is become as one of us, to know good and evil." The only divine property he still lacked was immortality, which the fruit of the tree of life might have bestowed upon him. If now the knowledge of good and evil was the power to make moral distinctions, is it the thought of the author that Jehovah meant to leave man without it? Mitchell frankly admits that this is the thought of the author (*Am. Jour. Theol.*, I, 917); and this conclusion, that Jehovah meant to leave man without the knowledge of good and evil—whatever that knowledge may be—is, indeed, the only one that we can draw, for it is because man secured that knowledge that Jehovah drove him from the garden (3:23; cf. Smend, *Religionsgeschichte*, 121); but is there anything in the narrative—unless it be the phrase whose meaning is under consideration, and therefore is not a competent witness—to suggest that Jehovah meant man to remain less than man, as he would be without the possession of the capacity for making moral distinctions?

No wonder the commentators who have interpreted "knowledge of good and evil" to mean the power of making moral choices have been puzzled by the attitude of Jehovah, and have attempted all kinds of explanations. Budde, for example, suggests (*Bibl. Urgeschichte*, 72), that possibly it was only a temporary arrangement, that perhaps Jehovah would finally have permitted man to partake of the tree, if he had proved obedient, and secured him against any evil consequences. But this is mere speculation, opposed to the tenor of the entire narrative, which makes the impression that the command of Jehovah was absolute.

A more popular explanation is that, had the temptation been resisted, the right choice—how there could be a morally right or wrong choice without the power to distinguish between right and wrong is not explained—would have led to the same result as the

wrong choice, i.e., man would have received the power to distinguish between the morally good and the morally evil; only the evil consequences of the disobedience would have been absent. According to this view, the eating of the fruit is without any real significance. The knowledge of good and evil would have come just as well without the eating, and the tree would have become a tree of knowledge only through the prohibition centering around it. But such interpretation fails to do justice to the narrative, for (1) the tree is called the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, (2:9) before there is any suggestion of the command not to eat of its fruit (2:17). (2) Analogy with the expression "the tree of life," which means, the tree whose fruit can give life (as is clearly implied in the words of Jehovah: "Now, lest he put forth his hand, and take also of the tree of life, and eat and live forever [3:22])—certainly makes it highly probable that in a similar way the knowledge of good and evil would come through eating the fruit of the tree (Smend, 120). (3) The whole narrative connects the acquisition of the knowledge, whatever it may be, with the actual eating of the fruit of the tree.

The above putting of the case is altogether beside the mark, for the acquisition of the "knowledge of good and evil" and the consciousness of having made the wrong choice are two entirely different things. The latter, i.e., the consciousness of having made a wrong choice, might have come through disobedience to any command, but the knowledge of good and evil was thought to come only through eating the forbidden fruit. Here again the question may be asked, Does not the consciousness of having done wrong presuppose the capacity for making a morally right or wrong choice when the crisis presented itself? Gordon also fails to make the distinction between the results of disobedience as such and of the eating of the forbidden fruit, when he says (*Early Traditions of Gen.*, 157): "The real result of the eating of the forbidden fruit appears in vss. 8 ff., in the evil conscience that replaces the former innocence of the man and his wife, and in their fear of Jehovah and desire to 'hide themselves from his face,' that destroys forever the once happy confidence and intimacy with him." The evil conscience and fear are the result of *disobedience*, the voluntary wrong choice, but not of the eating as such. These emotions would have resulted from disobedience to any command, but the



eating of the fruit of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil has a peculiar significance of its own. Still greater confusion is the basis of Budde's claim that "the application of the terms to moral qualities is proven by the fact that the first knowledge actually acquired by Adam and Eve was that of their own nakedness"; for not only does he fail to make the distinction above noted, but, in addition, expresses the erroneous idea, found also in Dillmann, that "without sin there is no shame" (154); in other words, that sex-consciousness—for this is what shame in this connection refers to—arises from consciousness of sin. (This point is treated more fully below.) We are compelled, therefore, to reject these various attempts to escape a difficulty and insist that the context places it beyond doubt that, whatever the knowledge of good and evil, Jehovah did not want man to have it, and forbade man absolutely to eat of the fruit of the tree, because the eating would bestow on him that knowledge.

But this brings us back to the inquiry, Is there any indication in the narrative of the author's belief that Jehovah intended man to remain without the capacity of making moral distinctions? This, I believe, must be answered in the negative. Moreover, the entire narrative, as has been suggested once or twice, implies that man was already in possession of this power when the command not to eat was given. Does not the giving of a command to anyone assume that the person who receives the command has the power of making moral distinctions, of seeing that obedience to the command is morally right and disobedience morally wrong? Otherwise the command would impose no obligation; the right choice would be without merit, and the wrong choice would impose no guilt. If man was without moral judgment before he disobeyed the divine command, not only does the severe judgment which befell him subsequently appear in the highest degree strange, but the commandment itself becomes quite unintelligible (Marti, 179). Besides, no one can read the account of the interview between the woman and the serpent without being impressed with the fact that the woman knew full well that it was right for her to obey and wrong to disobey; in other words, that she possessed the power to make moral distinctions and to choose the right or the wrong. In what sense, then, could the tree be called a tree the eating of whose fruit would endow man with



the power of making such moral distinctions? Evidently some other kind of knowledge must be in the mind of the author. In passing, one other difficulty connected with the common interpretation may briefly be pointed out: It would make the tree a tree of blessing, and the result of the eating a blessing in disguise, for through the eating man first came to moral maturity; without it he would forever have remained less than man. This, however, seems foreign to the thought of the author; he considers the eating a calamity and the beginning of all manner of disaster for man.

If, now, the context militates against the interpretation which sees in the knowledge of good and evil the capacity of making moral distinctions, does it throw any light upon the probable significance of the expression? In Gen. 3:6, which is a part of the narrative, we read: "And when the woman saw that the tree was good for food, and that it was a delight to the eyes, and that *the tree was to be desired to make one wise.*" This last expression undoubtedly refers back to vs. 5, where the serpent is represented as saying: "God doth know that in the day ye eat thereof, then your eyes shall be opened and ye shall be as God, *knowing good and evil.*" With this may be compared also 3:22: "And Jehovah God said, Behold, the man is become as one of us, to *know good and evil.*" The Hebrew verb הִשְׁכִּיל, used in 3:6, which occurs frequently in the Old Testament, cannot be limited to the moral faculties; it refers rather to the possession of insight, skill, prudence in general.

Moreover, what new knowledge came to the man and woman through the eating? Gen. 3:6b, 7 reads: "She took of the fruit thereof, and did eat; and she gave also unto her husband with her, and he did eat. And the eyes of them both were opened, and they knew that they were naked." This knowledge, that they were naked, the author believes came to them as a result of the eating, for he says in 2:25—i.e., before the account of the eating—"And they were both naked, the man and his wife, and were not ashamed"; and in 3:11 Jehovah inquires: "Who told thee that thou wast naked? Hast thou eaten of the tree, whereof I commanded thee that thou shouldest not eat?" The feeling of shame spoken of here is evidently the feeling of modesty and shyness due to a recognition on the part of the man and woman of a difference in sex; hence Gunkel is right in saying

(*Gen.*, 11) that the first result of the eating was sex-consciousness. At this point, as has been indicated before, confusion arises in the minds of many interpreters between the results of the eating and the results of the disobedience involved in the eating. The conscious and voluntary choice of the wrong brought an evil conscience and fear (vs. 8), but the first item of knowledge which came as the result of the eating was sex-consciousness. Dillmann, therefore, is wrong when he states concerning this shame (154): "The awakening sense of shame is the immediate accompaniment of sin. Without sin there is no shame. It is the involuntary witness of violated innocence." This is no more true of the first man and woman than it is today of children who arrive at the stage of sex-consciousness; and the author knew human nature too well to make the blunder. He connects the dawn of sex-consciousness with the eating of the fruit of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, not with the disobedience as such. That the dawn of sex-consciousness is independent of sin is admitted by Gordon (156): "The dawn of sexual consciousness is a concomitant, indeed, due to the quickened feeling which any great moral crisis brings with it. This touch in the picture may be due, as well, to the observation that sexual consciousness comes with general maturity of mind." But he fails to see the bearing of this admission upon the question under consideration; and altogether misapprehends Gunkel's remark, whom he accuses of claiming "that the 'knowledge' is mainly sexual consciousness," when Gunkel's own words are: "Er versteht also unter der Erkenntniss das was die Erwachsenen mehr haben als die Kinder, die Einsicht, die Vernunft, zu der auch das Wissen um den Unterschied der Geschlechter gehört."<sup>5</sup> The continuation of the account of the dawn of sex-consciousness is in 4:1, "And the man knew Eve his wife, and she conceived." Before the eating there had been no sexual intercourse. Connected with the new sex-consciousness is also the curse upon the woman (3:16). In immediate connection with the dawn of sexual consciousness appears the making of simple garments—the first step in civilization. Then follow in rapid succession the development of agriculture, the founding

<sup>5</sup> W. H. Bennett ("Genesis" in *New Cent. Bible*, 95), it is true, states: "The only acquisition of the kind mentioned in Genesis as the result of the eating of the fruit is the consciousness of sex"; but this statement is not warranted.

of cities, the invention of various arts, advance in civilization in general. Is the knowledge of good and evil the knowledge which made possible all this advance?

Before a final answer can be given it is necessary to examine the wider context, as it reflects the spirit and purpose of the author of the entire series of narratives. The account in Gen. 2:4—3:24 is generally assigned to J; whether there are elements belonging to J1, J2, J3, etc., is of little consequence for our purpose, for wherever the several elements originated, J, in its completed form, gives evidence of a spirit and purpose peculiar to J as a whole. To J belong also, in addition to some portions of no importance in this inquiry, the story of Cain and Abel and the line of Cain (4:1-24), the apostate sons of God (6:1-4), the decree to send the Flood on account of the wickedness of man (6:5-8), the story of the Flood in some form (7:1-8:22, in part), Noah's drunkenness and the curse of Canaan (8:18-27), part of the genealogical table in chap. 10, the tower of Babel and the confusion of tongues (11:1-9).

Apparently, the writer seeks to furnish in these narratives an answer to the question, whence came the conditions, practices, institutions, etc., familiar in his own days? The world, man, woman, the marriage relation, rebellion against God, clothing, the peculiar form of the serpent, the pains of child-birth, the toil of the husbandman, murder, blood revenge, the building of cities, the various occupations, and many more. Here one significant fact is to be noted, namely, that through all these narratives there runs the idea, that the more man learned to depend upon his own skill the fainter grew his sense of dependence upon God. In the words of Wellhausen, "As the human race goes forward in civilization, it goes backward in the fear of God." The first step in civilization is clothing, but the very first step was taken contrary to the will of God. Agriculture, outside of the garden of God, was not in God's original plan for man; hence the tiller of the soil, Cain, is not pleasing to him, while the nomad, Abel, is accepted. It is Cain who commits the first murder, the son of Cain builds the first city, a descendant of Cain introduces polygamy, and prefers to trust in the sword, the product of his own skill, rather than in Jehovah. From the same line come those who dwell in tents, musicians, workers in brass and iron. All of this



marks advance in civilization, and—apostasy from Jehovah, until Jehovah repents of having created man and determines to destroy him. A new start is made with Noah, but he takes another advance step, plants vineyards—and again trouble arises. Then there is made an attempt to build a city and high tower, but Jehovah interferes, and tries to prevent similar enterprises by confusing the tongues of men and scattering them abroad. Evidently J has no sympathy with advance in civilization and culture. His ideal is the time when man was a child and knew nothing of these things. God did not aid him in securing the power to make these advances; on the contrary, he sought to prevent the acquisition, and if man is in possession of it, it has come about through robbery and rebellion against the expressed purpose of Jehovah. We can now understand why Jehovah forbade the eating of the fruit of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil. Delitzsch (138) altogether misapprehends the spirit of the author when he asserts: "If Jehovah grudged men culture, he would be governed by malevolence"; nor was it a narrow jealousy that prompted Jehovah's attitude. It was for man's own best good that Jehovah desired to have him remain in the condition of dependence enjoyed in paradise. There man had a happy existence, one worthy of his nature, and held communion with Jehovah. It was his forbidden striving after the knowledge of good and evil that drove him out of paradise and brought all his miseries upon him.

This is the viewpoint of J. The narrative evidently proceeded from an opponent or opponents of civilization, such as we see represented by the Rechabites and Nazirites, because they considered it enmity against God (cf. Guthe, *Geschichte*, § 50). An examination into the general purpose and spirit of J points, therefore, in the same direction as the other lines of inquiry, namely, that the knowledge of good and evil is not exclusively the capacity of recognizing and making moral distinctions, but in a more general sense the knowledge and insight which makes possible advance in culture and civilization. Certainly, such knowledge and advance brings with it an increasing knowledge of moral distinction, but this moral element is not the only element, or even the principal element; it is only one among many in the knowledge which might be secured by eating the tree of the knowledge of good and evil.



But it may be objected, and indeed has been objected, especially by Budde (70, 71) and Gordon (160-61) that "this non-moral, or semi-moral interpretation altogether fails to do justice to the profoundly moral tone" of Gen., chap. 3, or the J narrative as a whole. But this objection is based upon a failure to distinguish between the results of disobedience and the results of the eating as such. No one doubts that there was sinful disobedience, and everything that Budde says about the crisis portrayed in Gen., chap. 3 is true, but this still leaves open the question under consideration. The consciousness of sin came as the direct result of the transgression of the divine command, and would have come whatever the nature or contents of the command, but is it sin-consciousness that the author has in mind when he speaks of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil? For the reasons indicated in this paper I must answer this question in the negative.

In a similar manner, it is perfectly true that an intense moral tone permeates the J narrative as a whole, and that the author condemns deeds that "outrage morality," but the objectors fail to see that he goes deeper than the crime. He seeks to determine the underlying causes, and these he finds in the advance in culture and civilization, which makes man feel less and less dependent on God. This advance, responsible for crime and apostasy, he believes to be contrary to the divine will; and Jehovah God, interested in the best welfare of his creatures, tried to prevent it; hence the command not to eat of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil: i.e., the tree whose fruit was able to bestow power and capacity for advancing in culture and civilization.

## THE MISSIONARY IDEA IN EARLY CHRISTIANITY

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The missionary idea seems to have occupied a large place in the thinking of the first-century Christians. It was strikingly illustrated in the lives of such preachers as Peter, Barnabas, and Paul who, with their less well-known helpers, proclaimed the new faith to both Jews and gentiles in the principal centers of the world known to them: Jerusalem, Antioch, Ephesus, Corinth, Rome, and possibly Egypt. Moreover much of the New Testament literature is pervaded by the missionary interest. For the gospel writers Jesus' work had a world-wide significance. Though his earthly activity was confined largely to Jews, others would come from the east and the west to sit in the Kingdom. Jesus was interested in sheep outside the Jewish fold. His followers were to be the light of the world and the salt of the earth; they were to stand as witnesses before the gentiles and to preach the gospel to all nations. The Book of Acts is a history of the accomplishment of this task, beginning at Jerusalem and gradually extending to Rome. The Pauline letters are vitally related to various phases of this general movement; and the remaining New Testament books, if not witnessing to immediate missionary enterprises, at least show Christianity in possession of scattered fields throughout the Roman empire. From I Peter 3:19 it appears that some interpreters made Jesus' saving mission to include not only all living persons but also the "spirits in prison" (cf. I Cor. 15:29; Eph. 4:9 f.).

Within the New Testament period the Christian consciousness of a universal mission had come to maturity. While the world-horizon of antiquity was much narrower than that of modern times, the Christians, or their leaders at least, felt a responsibility for the welfare of so much of humanity as came within the range of their vision. The aim of the present article is to examine the missionary idea of this period from the standpoint of its content and origin, in order to estimate its real significance.

Paul is the most prominent figure among the missionaries of the

first century. He believed that from the time of his birth God had chosen him to preach Jesus Christ to the gentiles, and that his Christian experience attested this divine intention (Gal. 1:15; 2:7 f.; I Cor. 9:16; Rom. 1:5, 14; 15:15 f.; Eph. 3:2-9; Col. 1:23, 25-29). This was a very natural deduction for Paul to make, considering the elements of thought uppermost in his mind at the time of his so-called conversion. As a good Jew he had been painfully conscious of the struggle which was going on between the lower and the higher motives in his life, while his attempts to break the bondage of sin by a strict observance of the Jewish law had only made his conviction of failure the keener (Rom., chap. 7). Then came his new experience: the realization that salvation is not of law but of grace, an inheritance to be obtained through faith issuing in a life of spiritual fellowship with God. By the work of Jesus the Messiah the régime of law had come to an end and the dispensation of grace had begun, and this grace was available on the condition of faith only. It followed logically that everyone who would believe, whether Jew or gentile, could share the new salvation (e.g., Gal. 2:16; 3:7-14, 25-29; 5:6; Rom. 9:30). Paul does not seem to have been the first Christian to hold this principle (Gal. 2:16), but the others were less insistent in pressing it to its logical conclusion.

Paul's greater acquaintance with the gentile world was, doubtless, largely responsible for his broader Christian outlook. He was strongly moved by the hopeless condition of the heathen: they were without any knowledge of the true God (I Thess. 4:5; II Thess. 1:7) and were living in bondage to them that by nature are no gods (Gal. 4:8 ff.); having been led away to the "dumb idols" (I Cor. 8:4; 12:2), they were victims of the inferior demons of the present evil age (II Cor. 4:3 f.; cf. Gal. 1:4; I Cor. 2:8; Eph. 2:2; 5:16; 6:12); ignorantly worshipping the creature instead of the creator, they walked in the vanity of their minds with hearts darkened (Rom. 1:21 ff.; Eph. 4:17 f.; 5:8; Col. 1:21; 2:18); consequently they had fallen into great wickedness where they lived without God and without hope, dead through trespasses and sins (Rom. 1:26-32; Eph. 2:3, 12; Col. 1:21; 2:13).

The deplorableness of this situation seemed all the greater to Paul because of his belief in the nearness of the Judgment Day,



when Jesus would return and condemnation would be pronounced upon all who were living in wickedness. Paul informed all his converts of the coming event. He made supplication for the Thesalonians that they might by a holy life be prepared for this approaching day of wrath (I Thess. 1:10; 3:13; II Thess. 1:10). Preparation was especially urged, for the Lord would come suddenly as "a thief in the night" (I Thess. 5:2). Though the date could not be fixed so positively as to say that "the day of the Lord is just at hand" (II Thess. 2:2), persons then living were to strive by a holy life to preserve spirit and soul and body intact ready to be caught up in the clouds to meet the Lord in the air (I Thess. 4:15-18; 5:23). Likewise the Corinthian believers were waiting for "the revelation of our Lord Jesus Christ" when every man's work would be made manifest through the testing of fire and a true judgment rendered in all things (I Cor. 1:7 f.; 3:13; 4:5; II Cor. 5:10). Marriage was discouraged on account of the shortness of the time, and the climax of the apostle's desire was expressed in the phrase *marana tha* ("Our Lord, come!" (I Cor. 16:22). In the later letters there is the same vivid expectation of the end of the age; the Romans are warned that "the night is far spent and the day is at hand," and "all shall stand before the judgment-seat of God" (Rom. 13:12; 14:10; cf. II Cor. 5:10); the Philippians are encouraged to go on to perfection "until the day of Jesus Christ" confident that "the Lord is at hand" (Phil. 1:6, 10; 4:5).

Paul's missionary zeal seems to have been stimulated also by the thought of his own reward in the day of judgment. To the Thesalonians he wrote: "What is our hope or joy or crown of glorying? Are not even ye before our Lord Jesus at his coming? For ye are our glory and our joy" (I Thess. 2:19 f.; also Phil. 2:16). As his troubles increased Paul was comforted by the thought that his sufferings on behalf of the gentiles were a "sweet savor unto God" (I Cor. 15:31; II Cor. 2:14 ff.), and his present "light affliction" was gladly borne in the confidence that "an eternal weight of glory" would be his when he stood in the judgment and there presented the fruit of his gentile labors (I Cor. 9:23-27; II Cor. 4:14-17; Rom. 8:17). Yet in general it is evident that he was seeking first not his own profit but the profit of the many (I Cor. 10:33).



Furthermore Paul's strong monotheistic faith, combined with his loyalty to the divine will, was a strong incentive in all his work. God belonged not to the Jews alone but also to the gentiles, "if so be that God is one" (Rom. 3:29 f.; I Cor. 8:4-6). The Messiah had been sent to Israel to fulfil the promises to the fathers that the Gentiles also should give glory to God (Rom. 15:8-12). Through Paul's ministrations God was not only calling heathen "into his own kingdom and glory," but he had from days of old designated the gentiles for salvation (I Thess. 2:12; Gal. 3:8; Eph. 1:5-14). As a minister of this God of the nations Paul was under obligation to preach the gospel to all peoples (Rom. 1:5, 14; cf. I Cor. 9:16; Phil. 1:16).

But his interest in the welfare of humanity was by no means purely doctrinaire; it was a very real power in his daily living. Indeed it may well be questioned whether this was not one of the most immediate motives prompting his missionary zeal. Taking Jesus as his model, Paul devoted all his energies to the service of humanity. He reminds the Corinthians of his sufferings from prisons, stripes, stoning, shipwrecks, perils of many sorts, hunger, thirst, cold, nakedness, and great anxieties in his devotion to the gospel (II Cor. 11:16-33; 12:15; cf. I Cor. 4:9-13); and once he breaks forth in passionate longing for the salvation of his unbelieving kinsmen, declaring that he could wish to be anathema from Christ for their sakes (Rom. 9:3). In his letters he has much to say about "faith" as the key word in his theory of salvation and "hope" for all Christians in the day of judgment, but in his instructions to the Corinthians regarding the proper use of spiritual gifts which were the result of "faith" and the earnest of "hope" he writes a parenthetical paragraph emphasizing the primal importance of the consecrated attitude of life in relation to others: "Now abideth faith, hope, love, these three; but the greatest of these is love" (I Cor., chap. 13). His soteriology and his eschatology were of secondary consequence in comparison with the immediate demands of the social relationship.

Of all these motives which were more or less prominent in Paul's thought, only the last two—his universalistic interpretation of the divine purposes and his recognition of man's obligation to serve the best interests of his fellow-men—are likely to have abiding significance. History has proved that Paul was mistaken in his expectation

of the near approach of the end of the age, his conversion experience when examined in the light of modern psychology may not seem to have quite the miraculous character he thought, the heathen world today is not the same as in his day, and the hope of personal reward in judgment cannot occupy a large place, as it did not with him, in a worthy missionary's mind; but the call to live in harmony with the divine will and in loyalty to the best interests of human brotherhood are ideals which have not yet been transcended.

What, more specifically, was the missionary's real work? What was his contribution to heathendom? It is customary to think of Paul as a great theologian, but it certainly would be wrong to suppose that he regarded the indoctrination of the heathen to be his first duty to them. In preaching to a new community he must have expounded the essential tenets of his gospel, but these were very elementary: belief in the true God, the expectation of judgment, and forgiveness of sins through Jesus the Messiah. Paul writes that at the time of his first visit to the Corinthians he determined to know nothing among them save Jesus Christ and him crucified (I Cor. 2:2; cf. Gal. 3:1). His work among the Thessalonians, which he recalled with evident satisfaction, had simply directed them to the worship of the true God, the expectation of Jesus' return, and deliverance from the coming wrath (I Thess. 1:9 f.); but his greatest care was for the quality of life they were to live: "Ye know how we dealt with each one of you as a father with his own children, exhorting you and encouraging you and testifying, to the end that you should walk worthily of God (I Thess. 2:11 f.). Every epistle abounds in practical instructions, these usually forming an impressive closing portion of each letter. Paul's immediate aim was to establish the heathen's daily living on a high religio-ethical plane; his more remote object was to prepare them to withstand successfully the testing of the judgment-day.

But the gentile Christians were often inquisitive, they were accustomed to speculative discussions, and sometimes they were dissatisfied with Paul's work because so little attention was given to theoretical problems. He, however, thought elaborate indoctrination of them impossible until they had attained to a high type of practical living. When the Corinthians were discounting his work because he

had not communicated "wisdom" to them, his justification was that he could not feed babes with meat (I Cor. 3:1-4). It seems to have been his custom first to reform his converts and later to indoctrinate them as occasion might require, but such instruction was a luxury for them rather than a necessity and could be received only by those who had attained a high condition of religious life. He would not appeal primarily to the gentiles' curiosity but to their inherent moral sensibilities which, though dulled by heathen customs, he still believed sufficiently alive to be used as a means of making manifest to the sinner the secrets of his heart so that "he will fall down on his face and worship God" (I Cor. 14:24; Rom. 2:15).

Paul attaches great importance to another contribution of the missionary's message to the heathen: the stimulus of a new moral and religious enthusiasm—the power of the Spirit, as Paul termed it. In Corinth his own preaching had been in the demonstration of the Spirit and of power that the faith of his converts should not stand in the wisdom of men but in the power of God (I Cor. 2:4 f.); the Thessalonians received the gospel not in word only but also in power and in the Holy Spirit (I Thess. 1:5 f.); the Galatians had a similar experience (Gal. 3:2-5, 14); Paul wished for the Romans an abundance of the same power and reminded them that "from Jerusalem and round about even unto Illyricum" Christ had wrought through him in the power of the Holy Spirit (Rom. 15:13, 15-19). To his opponents who questioned the genuineness of his apostleship he replied by referring to this power mediated to the gentiles through his ministry, an undeniable evidence of the grace given him (Gal. 2:9; I Cor. 3:10; 15:10; II Cor. 12:11-13; Rom. 12:3; Eph. 3:7 f.).

As would be expected, this contribution to gentile life was interpreted both by Paul and by the gentile Christians in terms of contemporary thinking. For example, a high wave of religious emotion seemed to be due to the immediate presence of the deity's power in the individual, and unusual occurrences in connection with these experiences were easily looked upon as "miraculous." Hence Paul encouraged the cultivation of "spiritual gifts" (I Thess. 5:19; I Cor. 14:1, 39) and regarded as of special significance their miraculous phases (Gal. 3:5; I Cor. 12:9 f., 28; Rom. 15:19); yet in justice to him, who could speak with tongues more than they all, it should be



remembered that he preferred to speak five words for the instruction of others to speaking ten thousand in a tongue merely for his own edification (I Cor. 14:19). He wished all these things to be done decently and in order, and to count always for the upbuilding of Christian character in the community as a whole (I Cor. 12:3; 14:33, 40). As Paul interpreted the missionary's mission, its immediate purpose was to give a strong moral and spiritual uplift to the lives of the heathen.

If now it is asked, What is Paul's attitude toward missions as a permanent Christian obligation? we find little to suggest that he ever considered this question. So far as we know, he made no plans for missionary work beyond his own generation, he did not preach missions as a duty for the new convert, nor did he specifically command the churches to contribute funds for the support of missionaries. In all this there is nothing strange. One who looked for the end of the world in his own day could not be expected to plan for future generations; but the general principle by which Paul would have settled these problems had they arisen is evident. His own activity testifies to his belief that world evangelization was a Christian duty and his corps of helpers is evidence that he impressed the obligation upon others. He took for granted that those who preach the gospel should receive support from the churches. True, he boasts that he and Barnabas had been known to serve at their own charges (I Cor. 9:6), but this, for Paul at least, was not an absolute rule if indeed his general practice (I Cor. 9:4-14; cf. Gal. 6:6). He had some special reasons for his exceptional action in the case of Corinth and it was made possible by the contributions he received from Macedonia (II Cor. 11:7-9; 12:13). The Philippians had given ready assistance, sending funds once and again to help Paul in Thessalonica as also probably in Achaia. Their remembrance of him continued even into the period of his imprisonment (Phil. 4:10-18). By example if not by precept Paul proclaims that missionary work is an essential Christian duty.

Jesus' relation to the missionary idea is much more problematic. Not only have we no writings from him, but the New Testament reports of his work and teaching were written several years after he lived and after the missionary movement had become a matter of



actual history. Just how these later developments affected each evangelist's interpretation of Jesus' words, or indeed affected the reports of those through whom the tradition came to the evangelists, is now difficult to say. On the basis of such evidence as is now available some interpreters have concluded that Jesus anticipated gentile missions and enjoined this work upon his disciples. Others think the question had no place in Jesus' thought, while still others find him explicitly excluding the gentiles. The gospels, it is true, have in general represented his attitude as favorable to the missionary enterprise in which the church later found itself engaged, yet he is also reported to have said that he was not sent except to the lost sheep of the house of Israel (Matt. 15:24), that it was not meet to take the children's bread and cast it to the dogs (Matt. 15:26; Mark 7:27), that holy things should not be given to dogs nor pearls cast before swine (Matt. 7:6); and he instructed the Twelve not to go into any way of the gentiles or into any city of the Samaritans (Matt. 10:5 f.), yet before they had finished their task the end would come (Matt. 10:23). Also in describing the judgment the gentiles are ignored when Jesus says to the Twelve that they are to sit on thrones judging "the twelve tribes of Israel" (Matt. 19:28; Luke 22:30).

A critical examination of the gospel material raises doubts as to the reliability of many passages treating this theme. Those making Jesus favor the movement as well as those in which he speaks against it are often alike open to question. Taking the unfavorable representations first, the advice to withhold precious things from dogs and swine cannot with certainty be claimed as a reference to the heathen, though they were "dogs" and "swine eaters" in the sight of the Jews. The verse occurs in Matthew only and, if a genuine word of Jesus, its original connection can no longer be determined. It has been suggested that he used it in reference to the keeping of the messianic secret (cf. Matt. 16:20), or that he had the persecutors in mind (cf. Matt. 10:16 f.), or that possibly it reflects later troubles with false teachers (cf. Phil. 3:2 f.). The exact significance cannot now be determined.

The sending of the Twelve is recorded in the first three gospels but is described at much greater length in Matthew than in the others (Matt. 9:36—10:42; Mark 6:7—13; Luke 9:1—6). In accordance

with the first evangelist's custom of grouping sayings of Jesus topically, Mark's story of the sending of the Twelve, Luke's account of the Seventy, and numerous items recorded in various contexts in the other gospels, are here brought together to form a repository of information for the instruction of missionary disciples. In Matthew only are the Twelve told to confine their efforts to Jews (Matt. 10:5 f.), yet the evangelist can scarcely have meant this as a permanent exclusion of the heathen else he would not have had Jesus say (in vs. 18) that the trials through which the disciples were to pass would issue in a testimony to the gentiles (cf. also vs. 22). The statement that work in the cities of Israel would not be completed until the Son of Man's coming (vs. 23), at least in Matthew's setting (following vs. 22), needs only to signify that the evangelization of the Jews was yet in progress and the end was expected before this task would be accomplished. Work among gentiles was also in progress and Jewish unbelief was so stubborn that the heathen would be evangelized first while the Jews, every opportunity having been given them, seemed doomed to rejection on account of their persistent unwillingness to accept Jesus as Messiah. Hence it sharpened the first evangelist's point against the Jews when he was able to supplement the tradition with vs. 6, showing that in the first instance Jesus had told his disciples to give their undivided attention to Israel. And the insertion of vs. 23 would tend to allay any misgivings that the failures of missionary efforts among Jews might have aroused. The possibility of these sayings having come from Jesus is very doubtful; their late appearance in the tradition—they are neither in the Markan source nor in the common material of Matthew and Luke—and the apologetic interest they are made to serve count against their originality.

Matthew's account of the Canaanitish woman is framed to serve a similar interest. Mark is evidently the source (Mark 7:24-30; Matt. 15:21-28). The Matthean narrative adds (1) "I was not sent but unto the lost sheep of the house of Israel," (2) "O woman, great is thy faith"; (3) omits "Let the children first be filled," and (4) makes the woman recognize Jesus' messiahship: "O Lord, thou son of David." Each of these touches points in the one direction: the gentiles' ready faith is set over against the Jews' unbelief in spite of their great advantages. Even the account in Mark may be colored

by the interest which the incident served in the gentile missionary preaching. The commendable feature in the woman's attitude was her readiness to take crumbs from the children's table, hence the praiseworthiness of the heathen's willingness to accept Christianity notwithstanding its Jewish origin. "It is not meet to take the children's bread and cast it to the dogs" supplies the proper contrast for bringing out the merit of the woman's action. This apologetic interest did not exist in Jesus' day, though it is quite conceivable that he should minister to a needy individual in the vicinity of Tyre and Sidon.

On the other hand, not all portions of the gospels making Jesus include the gentiles in his outlook are free from the influence of early apologetic. One of the early arguments in favor of gentile missions was the Jews' rejection of Christianity (cf. Rom. 11:11), which finally became the doctrine of the Jews' utter exclusion from the kingdom. Such an interpretation has been appended by Matthew to the account of the healing of the centurion's servant (Matt. 8:11 f.). A similar saying stands in another connection in Luke 13:28-30, but here the reference to gentiles as a class in contrast with the Jews is less certain. The parables recorded only in Matt. 22:1-14; 24:45-25:46 have a similar implication, to which possibly one should add the parable of the vineyard (Matt. 21:33-44; Mark 12:1-11; Luke 20:9-18), the interpretation appended in Matthew to the parable of the tares (Matt. 13:37-43), and the "net" (Matt. 13:47-50). These features of the tradition need the experiences of the church to give them point. The hopelessness of the Jewish mission had not been fully realized in Paul's day (Gal. 2:9; Rom. 11:25-32), nor was it very pronounced in Mark's time; but the writer of Matthew was thoroughly aware of the later situation, hence his deliberate efforts to meet it.

Still other gospel passages bearing on the subject of heathen missions have been largely influenced by another special factor in the early faith. The return of Jesus was eagerly awaited by the Christians at this time, but when would he come? Though no one pretended to know the exact date, the New Testament tradition has left several answers to this question. According to Acts 3:19-21 the coming would take place when the Jews had repented (cf. Matt. 10:23) and the times of restoration had arrived. Paul answered: When the



gentiles had been given a full opportunity to hear the gospel (Rom. 11:25) and when the wickedness in Israel had reached a climax (Rom. 11:32; II Thess. 2:1-12). Paul saw these two lines of activity in progress, so he expected the end soon. The third answer, that of the gospels, passed over the Jews and made the conversion of the gentiles the sole condition (Mark 13:10; Matt. 24:14; Luke 21:24), expecting its fulfilment, however, in the near future (Mark 13:30; Matt. 24:34; Luke 21:32). This development of ideas followed the experiences through which the church passed. Before Paul the evangelization of the Jews was the central missionary interest; during Paul's time work among both Jews and gentiles was prosecuted with varying degrees of success; later, especially after the fall of Jerusalem, there was less hope of success among Jews and the idea that gentiles were to displace Jews in the kingdom became more emphatic. Whatever Jesus' views upon eschatology may have been, it is not probable that he represented the third stage in this evolution of missionary thought.

On the whole it seems probable that Jesus never commended gentile missions as a "cause" to his disciples. Paul in his struggle to justify his work among the heathen does not refer to any approving word of Jesus except that which Paul himself received from his conversion experience. Peter had been especially "energized" for work among the Jews, Paul for work among the gentiles (Gal. 2:7 f.), yet even this was not from the earthly Jesus but from the risen Lord who appeared first to Peter and lastly to Paul (I Cor. 15:5, 8). Paul does say "the Lord ordained that they that proclaim the gospel should live of the gospel," but if this is to be connected with the gospel passage "the laborer is worthy of his food" it cannot be taken as a direct reference to labor among the heathen. So far as Paul knew, or at least so far as he gives any evidence of knowing, Jesus had said nothing about world-evangelization. The tradition about Peter's hesitancy in receiving gentiles into Christianity is also quite inexplicable if he had previously been the leader of the company that was especially commissioned by the risen Jesus to "make disciples of all the nations" (Matt. 28:19; cf. Acts 10:47; 11:17). An early extra-canonical tradition states that the apostles, in conformity with a command of Jesus, for twelve years after his death preached to Jews



and then went to "the world" (cf. Harnack, *Chronologie*, I, 243 f.). This may not be historically accurate information (though Harnack thinks it represents the disciples' action accurately), but in the circles where it circulated no command of Jesus for immediate work among the nations was accepted as authentic.

Indeed the gospels, although they arose after gentile missions had become firmly established, have little to say of any specific statements of Jesus directly favoring this work. Matt. 28:19, Luke 24:47 f., and Acts 1:6-8 contain a definite command, but the trustworthiness of these passages is particularly doubtful. They come from the post-resurrection period of Jesus' teaching, the whole tradition of which has been influenced by the ecstatic and theological life of the early church. Moreover the commands do not agree in their particulars. According to Matthew the disciples received their instructions in Galilee (cf. the spurious ending of Mark) while in Luke-Acts a differently worded command is given in Jerusalem, with no intimation of a previous commission in Galilee. Later phases of Christian thinking are also evident: the trinitarian baptismal formula of Matthew does not appear in the early references to baptism in Paul's letters and in the Book of Acts, and the phraseology of Acts 1:6-8 (Luke 24:47 f.)—Jerusalem, Judea, Samaria, and the uttermost part of the earth—is a prefatory summary of the third evangelist's scheme in narrating the apostolic history.

In the Fourth Gospel Jesus' views have been very generally universalized, so that the conquest of the heathen for Christianity is assumed to be an integral part of Jesus' thinking. The history of his career as told here corresponds in its general outlines to the missionary activity of the early church. He had given special attention to Judea, but the result had been a growing disbelief on the part of the Jewish leaders. Samaria however received him more readily and he made this the occasion for declaring that while salvation was from the Jews the time would come when the national idea would be displaced by the true spiritual worship (4:22-24). During Jesus' own lifetime missions to the Jews reached a climax with the last great sign, the raising of Lazarus, where Jesus was received by many of the common people but rejected by the nation (11:45-53; 12:9-11). At this time the Greeks came to him, and he made it the occasion for

declaring that the hour of his glorification had arrived when by his death he would draw all men unto himself (12:20-32). As his mission was universal so was that of the disciples, and an especial blessing was pronounced upon those who believed without having personally seen Jesus (20:21-23, 29).

In general the gospels represent the final stages in first-century Christianity's conquest of the heathen world. It was only natural for the evangelists to give Jesus their own historical outlook; otherwise they would have had little interest in reporting his teaching. But these narratives do not lose their value because they have not always preserved verbatim the teaching of Jesus. They have a significance of their own in their testimony to the early missionary idea in post-Pauline times. They show that the missionary consciousness of early Christianity did not belong to Paul alone but it represented the essential spirit of the new religion.

As for Jesus' personal views, we cannot on the strength of any evidence now available conclude that he pronounced either in favor of or in opposition to gentile missions. This was no *problem* in his day, as it was later for his followers; yet the later church, in the development of its broader missionary outlook, was certainly not going counter to the spirit of Jesus' own life and teaching. The evangelists' accounts of him, in those portions that seem to be told without reference to their own immediate missionary problems, imply that he was essentially more genuinely missionary in spirit than many of his followers were. Unlimited self-giving service for others, the universality of the divine love, and the recognition of common human brotherhood were always fundamental religious principles with Jesus. Not only may the missionary in modern times go to him for inspiration, but he is not truly represented in a Christianity that lacks the missionary interest.

## JESUS' LAST JOURNEY TO JERUSALEM<sup>1</sup>

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The period of time and the localities connected with the nineteenth and twentieth chapters of Matthew are somewhat uncertain. The introductory statement in Matthew (19:2) seems to carry us far back from the events mentioned at the close of the journey. Between the second and third verses the harmonists would insert Luke's whole account of the Perean ministry (Luke 9:51-18:14) and correspondingly Matt. 8:18-22; 11:20-30. Thus Matthew's introductory statement becomes a summary of this portion of Jesus' career and serves also as a transition to another topic, after the manner of this evangelist (cf. 4:23-25; 9:35; 14:34-76; 15:29-31). We find ourselves among the closing scenes of Jesus' ministry east of the Jordan and the "multitudes" are the people who are making their way to the Passover at Jerusalem by way of Jericho. The tone of the writer reflects the tragic character of that last journey.

For an adequate representation we must associate Mark with Matthew. The expository and apologetic aim of the latter leads him to transfer some of Jesus' utterances from the circumstances that called them forth and gave them their peculiar force, in order to insert them into the extended discourses that constitute a striking feature of his work. Supplemented by Mark, the record takes on rather the appearance of a chronicle. By the help of Mark we gain an impressive picture of what happened. The contrast between the two writers appears throughout the sections under consideration. For example, in the introductory passage Matthew in his indiscriminating, matter-of-fact way says, "Great multitudes followed him and he healed them," while Mark, intent on characterizing Jesus' career, says, "Multitudes came together unto him again and, as was his wont, he taught them again." In the account of Jesus blessing

<sup>1</sup> This study covers the International Uniform Sunday-School Lessons for August 7, 14, 21, and 28.



the children, Matthew (19:13, 14) merely mentions the facts and quotes Jesus' words, but Mark, seeking to reflect the emotion and the tone with which Jesus spoke, says, "He was moved with indignation." Again, in the case of the rich young ruler, Matthew merely says, "One came and said," and makes no reference to the effect on Jesus' feelings, but Mark indicates the character of the inquirer by the picturesque statement, "There *ran* one to him and *kneeled* to him," and he gives a clue to the purport of the master's reply, "Jesus, looking upon him, loved him." Even on account of the contrast, Mark's assistance is indispensable throughout if we hope to understand Matthew.

The events themselves furnish a broad study of the conditions: the warmth of the public feeling toward Jesus just then, the expectancy of the common people, the mingling of faith and selfishness on the part of the disciples, the beginning of the last bitter conflict with the authorities.

The bringing of the little children to have him "lay his hands on them and pray" shows that Jesus had attracted the hopes and pious affections of the common people to himself. It was evidently a customary action of his but one not hitherto connected with mere children; hence the objection of the disciples to what must have seemed to them an unnecessary intrusion of a trivial matter, forgetting what he had said to them before (18:1 ff.). The action of the parents (Luke) may have been simply from the common desire for the blessing of a good man upon their children which in ancient times was believed to insure the desired good, with the special implication in this case that the touch of one who had healed so many might preserve them from ill. Possibly too a half-conscious faith in his messiahship underlay their action. At any rate the request and the warm response it met remind us how unerringly the unsophisticated mind of the common people discovers a true friend, while the disciples showed that they had failed to enter into the Master's interest in humanity. Jesus' corrective reply and his hearty compliance with the request are not to be used as an indorsement of a formal rite for the benefit of children, nor as the warrant for a dogma on the question of infant salvation. We are rather to notice how promptly he discovered in the coming of the children a parable of the kingdom;



childlikeness, simple-hearted trust, eager hope, untainted love, constitute its character. If here we insert Mark's complementary statement (Mark 10:15; cf. Matt. 18:3)—pride and self-sufficiency debar men from the new fellowship—we see how startling and revolutionary to men with proud expectations (cf. 20:20–28) the saying was.

An equal surprise came a little afterward in the interview with a rich young man. Matthew's "and behold" implies that the new event followed closely, while Mark "as he was going forth into the way" implies that he was just leaving the locality and helps to explain the young man's haste. This narrative is abused and its meaning lost when it is worked in the interest of a theory of salvation supposed to be Pauline. To treat the young man's questions as evidence of a self-righteous spirit and Jesus' reply as intended to expose the futility of all "good works" and the vanity of the inquirer is to miss the purport of the story. Jesus had no fixed formula, but dealt with each soul according to the need he discerned. Here was a moral, serious-minded youth who looked for the kingdom and sought to prepare for it by doing the will of God as he understood it. But feeling unsatisfied he sincerely sought new light from the great teacher. Jesus seeing in him a possible disciple aimed to deepen his sense of need and open to him a new vista of devotion to God.

The question itself seems to have been common among thoughtful Jews at this time, when many supposed the kingdom to be imminent (Luke 10:25; cf. Matt. 5:3; Luke 17:20; 19:11), but it lacked the deep meaning that it obtained later and probably related only to the hoped-for reward of endless existence at a final judgment. Jesus put into the question a deeper meaning than the inquirer intended. We must follow Mark's account rather than Matthew's. The latter, with apologetical intent, attempts to remove the stumbling-block to faith in Jesus' sinlessness, of which Mark's account, with its denial on Jesus' part of any original, independent goodness of his own, suggested a doubt. The epithet "good" he transfers from the master to the "thing" that was to be done, and instead of the startling response, "Why callest thou me good? None is good, save one, that is God," we find the insipid utterance, "Why askest thou me concerning that which is good? One there is who is good." This almost conceals the issue. To be called "good" was offensive to Jesus

because of his profound consciousness that all human goodness, his own included, flows from the only source of all true goodness in God. The young man's thought that goodness was to be acquired by personal effort, and, consequently, that Jesus had acquired it in that way evinced to Jesus his want of moral insight. It became necessary that he should realize the deeper meaning of the question and the far-reaching outcome. This deeper meaning of goodness is to be read into Jesus' reference to the commandments of the law and to the "life" that was promised in it. But when he perceived that the youth had sincerely tried to follow the light and nevertheless felt the gnawing of a great want, he made the searching and stirring appeal that tested the seeker's mettle: "Sell all, give it to the poor, follow me." The demand stunned him. His bright and hopeful countenance 'fell'; he could not adopt the life of Jesus' followers; but his case may not have been hopeless, for he was "sorrowful."

No sweeping inferences can be drawn from this occurrence as to whether Jesus imposed conditions on the "perfect" that were not prescribed for ordinary disciples, but it is clear that he admitted no possibility of admission to the kingdom for men with divided aims. There may be men whose spirit requires peculiar sacrifices, as, for example, withdrawal from all pursuits except that of preaching the gospel.

Jesus' solemn affirmation of the difficulty of a rich man's entering the kingdom, repeated in a form that represents it as impossible, caused astonishment because it ran counter to the common Jewish view that prosperity was a mark of divine approval. The saying is softened in Mark by the explanation that by a rich man is meant one who trusts in riches, but the affirmation remains that riches are an impediment so great that only God can enable a man to overcome it. It is also plain that Jesus felt that in those days the issue was so serious that the two were incompatible. The whole story with the concluding promise brings vividly before our minds the condition of Christians years later when their general acceptance of poverty as a necessary outcome of the renunciation of personal ambitions found as a counterpoise the hope of unmeasured spiritual gain in the imminent final judgment.

The aphorism about "the first and the last," with which the account

closes, occurs in Luke (13:30) in a different connection and may have been a common saying of Jesus. The application cannot be here, as it is in Luke, to the Jew and the gentile, but it may point the moral of the young man's case; those who have here superior material and spiritual advantages will often in the future age be found inferior. Or it may be applied to Peter's question (vs. 27) about rewards, and the ambitions it displayed (cf. 20:20-28). Later disciples might surpass them and rise higher in the kingdom.

The parable that Matthew adds in explanation of the aphorism has not a very clear connection with what precedes. Probably it represents the state of mind of many Jewish Christians of a later time when the end of the world seemed imminent and the question of recompenses arose. It is a picture of typical labor conditions in the East at the time. The parable is marred when we try to expound it in its detail, e.g., when the different hours named are supposed to have in each case a specific reference. It is rather to be taken in its broad representation of the principle that governs the divine rewards in the kingdom. However, the only strict parallel we find to the terms of the aphorism is in the reference to the *time*, those first engaged being the last paid and conversely. But this trifling feature is not to be emphasized by itself, though it may indicate the householder's higher appreciation of those who went to work without specific contract, while the bargaining of those first hired and their murmuring at the end proved their real inferiority. It becomes, then, a rebuke to Peter on account of his inquiry about rewards for renunciation of worldly goods: later disciples may rank in equality with the earliest and even enjoy a moral priority.

The parable not only rebukes all self-righteousness and seeking of rewards but it also introduces the recognition of the divine prerogative which often runs counter to conventional ideas of justice and is superior to all mere human justice because it makes unconstrained goodness, beneficence, supreme: "Is thine eye evil because I am good?" Here is, perhaps, a glance toward the Pauline doctrine of grace.

The lesson on the worth of pure beneficence received impressive application in the three events that occurred just afterward as Jesus was nearing the city. He could fitly urge upon his disciples the prin-



ciple of self-renunciation because it was soon to be exemplified in his own experience. He takes the Twelve apart, whether because he must unburden his soul to those who were the best fitted to sympathize or because he saw that their hearts were filled with carnal hopes that must be dispelled before the crisis, and tells them of his approaching arrest and execution. Why did he not announce it to all? It might have precipitated a bloody conflict with the authorities and nullified his purpose in going to Jerusalem.

Here again Mark's (10:32 f.) livelier account gives us a richer picture of the scene. Matthew gives the substance and instead of Mark's "kill" has the more specific "crucify." How much the report of what Jesus said has been affected by the later recollection of the actual facts it is impossible to say, but most certainly not a little. The subsequent action of the disciples is in keeping with a less definite utterance of Jesus' premonition. Luke feels the difficulty and offers an explanation (18:34). Two things are clear: first, that Jesus was fully aware that the opposition of the rulers would issue in his death, and was not only conscious that this was the line of obedience for him but equally assured that it would turn to his own ultimate triumph; second, that his disciples were unable to enter into his feelings fully and went on cherishing their vain expectations, which were not altogether dispelled for years.

This is shown by the selfish petition of James and John which, according to Matthew's "then," immediately followed. Matthew says that the coveted favor in the kingdom (Mark, "glory") was sought through their mother in an attitude of obeisance. They had apparently taken the Master's words about thrones (19:28) for his followers as a description of material reality, and their fancy had pictured themselves surrounded by the splendors of regal dignity. It was not the puerility but the carnality of their mind that impressed Jesus. In spite of their devotion to him these men were almost strangers to his inner purpose. This low spirituality was common to all the disciples, as is shown by the resentment of the others. That this was no mere sudden uprising of a subjugated passion but the expression of persistent selfishness, seen in its modern form in the ruinous hankering after ecclesiastical dignities, is clear. For this spirit they had been rebuked before (Matt. 18:1-5; Mark. 8:34-37; Luke



9:46-48). Luke mentions this dispute but refers it to the time of the supper (Luke 22:24-26). Matthew mentions a later instance (23:10-12).

Jesus traced their error to want of spiritual discernment, and by the familiar figure of the cup from which men drink their portion (cf. Ps. 16:5; 29:5, etc.)—Mark adds the figure of a baptism—he showed them that the chief question was whether they had strength to share his approaching sufferings. Their confident “We can,” was, let us hope, no mere utterance of carnal confidence but the uprising of their deeper nature as once more the strength of the bond between him and them flashed on their minds. His own disclaimer of any independent authority and the reservation of all honors to his Father’s choice followed, and then the impressive lesson of the contrast with “gentile” kingdoms. Human estimates of dignity are reversed. Of that true dignity that consists in service, amid suffering if need be, he counted himself the type (that is if vs. 28 is from Jesus and not the evangelist’s comment), and once more speaks of his death as his voluntary service for the many. Even here he claims no exclusive place for himself, but opens to his followers a way of devotion to humanity such as his own. The force of his beautiful words is lost when theologians press the figure of a “ransom,” by which he refers to the effect of his death and not to a “plan of salvation,” into an argument for a salvation-contract.

As if to illustrate his saying, the healing of Bartimaeus occurs almost immediately. The writers differ as to the precise time and as to the number of persons healed. Matthew’s account is also bare compared with the others, but the lesson is the same: Blindness, poverty, filth, rags—too often an object of scorn instead of pity—with ears alert, feel hope arise on learning that the Healer is passing. The crowd’s apathetic regard for some sort of decorum—perhaps the frequency of such sights had made them callous—would have suppressed the cry for help. But that lowly Minister is moved. He heals the blind man and gains a disciple. It was the Master’s last opportunity (notwithstanding 21:14) to answer the cry of human helplessness before the great tragedy came, and though the tragedy was constantly before him, still the world’s need and not his own was in his mind.

The importance of the entry into Jerusalem in the eyes of the early Christians is shown by the marked attention of all four evangelists to it. Matthew and Luke have the cleansing of the temple follow at once, Mark places it on the next day, and John, in accordance with his view that Jesus claimed messiahship from the first, dates it at the first visit. Doubtless all four reflect the popular view that Jesus intended, in the manner related, to affirm his claims. The whole occurrence is viewed as supernatural in origin. Matthew and John both refer explicitly to the correspondence with Zechariah's prophecy, and Matthew, strangely missing the Hebrew parallelism, makes it appear that both an ass and her foal were used by Jesus.

The people's acclaim and their chanting of the 118th psalm show that they thought the Kingdom was now coming. Whether they thought Jesus was the Messiah or that the "prophet Jesus from Nazareth" was to announce the coming, is not quite certain. Why did Jesus accept the people's attentions? His words referred to above show that he knew the outcome and did not fear it. His action was a challenge to the Jewish authorities and was interpreted by them as such. When he backed it the next day by cleansing the temple they were forced to take up the challenge or else submit. Let us remember that the synoptists give us no intimation that in manhood he had ever seen the temple before. On seeing the profanation of the worship in the interest of commercial greed his indignation was instant and natural. His forcible protest with the prophetic words of Isaiah (Isa. 56:7), joined to Jeremiah's denunciation of a similar corruption (Jer. 7:11), on his lips, made the whole scene, including the shouts of the children, ominous of the impending destruction of Judaism and prophetic of a purer worship of God in its place.

## Book Reviews

**Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics.** Edited by JAMES HASTINGS.  
Vol. II, Arthur—Bunyan. New York: Scribner, 1910. xxii +  
901 pages. \$7.00.

A glance through the nine hundred pages of this volume reveals what the editor and his collaborateurs have accomplished. They have collected and organized the world's achievements to date in religion and ethics from Arthur to Bunyan. They have summarized their achievements concisely, and in the main clearly in such English as the various writers could command. We might suppose them to have had distinctly in mind several classes of persons such as: (1) the general reader of average intelligence and equipment; (2) the professional man—especially the clergyman, the literary man, and the lawyer—whose range of information must be wide and accurate, but easily accessible; (3) the student at the beginning of his researches. The volume introduces him to his subject, shows him in brief what has already been done, enables him to see where original research may begin, and puts him into connection with the best sources of information; (4) the scholars and specialists who need for constant reference an epitome of knowledge on subjects cognate to their own subjects.

A more careful examination of numerous articles shows that these ends have been reached about as well as possible in our times when things are moving so swiftly that knowledge today is sure to be discredited in part or in whole tomorrow. Yet in the whirl of events some matters are getting settled in broad outlines at least, and the methods according to which investigations are to proceed are becoming somewhat sharply defined. We accordingly do not believe that this encyclopedia will very soon be entirely out of date.

In our opinion the editor has all in all been fortunate in the selection of his helpers. The radical, the conservative, and the *via media* man all appear in his list. But the scholarship and recognized ability of each one is not likely to be called in question. The subject with which he deals is one which he is competent to treat, and he understands that he is in the rather fierce limelight, and this is sufficient to make most men circumspect. There are undoubtedly difficulties inherent in this mode of procedure, but its alternative of selecting writers substantially agreed in their theories would have made the encyclopedia a one-sided affair, and thus, to say the least, have deprived it of the highest scientific value.



We note, too, with extreme pleasure that the editor has fully acted upon the principle at last generally recognized that history is fundamental in the procedure of all the great disciplines. Thus each important subject appears in the full light of its history. This feature of the method is sure to lend additional permanence to the different articles so treated.

We observe, moreover, that the editor gives us much more than the title seems at first sight to promise—*An Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*. For example we have articles on "Biology," "Brain and Mind," "Biogenesis," "Atomic Theory." The article on "Being" is metaphysical, and Professor Royce's article on "Axioms" is a logical or philosophical statement. We are interested at the end when he says: "Axioms, in the language of modern theory, are best defined, neither as certainties nor as absolute principles, but as those principles which are used as the first in a special theory." We do not, however, here make an adverse criticism, but rather call attention to the infinite vastness of the ramifications of religion into all knowledge and to show how incomplete the work would have been without such articles as we have mentioned.

Many of the articles are so long as to make elaborate essays, indeed, in some cases, small treatises, embracing the best work of several specialists. For example, the article on "Asceticism" contains approximately 63,000 words, and is the work of twelve contributors. The subject is handled in all its important phases. Or, again, take the article on "Baptism." It contains more than 60,000 words, and is the co-operative work of nine specialists. It discusses ethnic baptism, baptism in the New Testament, baptism in the early church, in the later church; baptism among the Greeks and Romans, the Hindus, the Mohammedans, the Polynesians, and the Teutons. The part that is sure to be most instructive to the majority of readers is that on ethnic baptism. This is true because it opens up a new continent to the generality of students of the subject. Among very many peoples there was a rite similar to baptism performed either in infancy or at a later period of life. "Sometimes that likeness is only on the surface; in other cases it extends deeper and the pagan rite has also a religious and ethical purpose. The use of water in such a ceremony is connected with a more general ceremonial use among heathen races as a means of ritual purification." Water was the most natural agency for cleansing and purifying and so water was used for the removal of *tabu*. Water became a safeguard. The animistic theory gave life to water. In the Hebrew Scriptures we meet the expression "living water." We also find various beliefs about "The Water of Life" conferring immortality, strength, beauty, or about the fountain of youth,



idealized in folk-lore, in many European folk-tales with parallels from all stages of barbaric and savage culture. Juvenal satirizes the superstitious Roman for "washing away his sins by dipping his head three times in the waters of the Tiber." In many regions are found striking analogies to Christian baptism. And so in a most interesting manner new light from a great variety of sources is thrown upon this central ordinance of the church.

If the succeeding volumes hold up to the present standard the completed work will go far toward an ideal—unattainable but valuable as an ideal—which we have recently seen expressed as follows:

I am not man till in my single guise  
All that on earth hath ever been is told;  
I must life's whole experiences hold;  
The race itself I must epitomize.

The articles on Semitic and Old Testament themes are a prominent feature of Vol. II. They occupy about one-eighth of the book, covering about 112 pages. These include at least twenty separate articles, besides Semitic subdivisions of long articles. The range of themes includes geography, history, archaeology, religion, and life, both in ancient and in modern times. The aim of the editor seems to have been to make each article complete in itself.

The chief writers in this field are L. B. Paton of Hartford, Conn., George A. Barton of Bryn Mawr, Pa., D. S. Margoliouth of Oxford, Heinrich Zimmern of Leipzig, R. A. Nicholson of Cambridge, D. B. MacDonald of Hartford, Alfred Jeremias of Leipzig, F. Ll. Griffith of Oxford, George Foucart of Aix en Provence, M. Gaster of London, and A. H. Sayce of Oxford.

The largest and most exhaustive Semitic article is "Baal, Beel, Bel," by L. B. Paton, covering fifteen pages, and showing a prodigious amount of investigation in every branch of Semitic study. The same author writes on "Ashtart (Ashtoreth) Astarte," about whom classical writers have so much to say under the name of "Aphrodite" or "Venus." He also prepared the treatment on "Atargatis," earliest evidence of whose worship first appears on a coin probably of the early Greek period, and was merely a local form of the primitive Semitic goddess Ishtar—Athtar. The next longest treatment is "Babylonians and Assyrians" by Heinrich Zimmern, covering ten and one-half pages. It is a lucid condensation of the principal features of the religion of those peoples as revealed through their own inscriptions; a most valuable part of the article is the half-page of the best literature on the theme. D. S. Margoliouth contributes "Mohammedan

Atheism," and an exhaustive article on "Baghdad." R. A. Nicholson discusses "Asceticism" among Muslims in six pages, and finds its best representatives in Sufism and the Dervishes. "Islamic Baptism" is treated by D. B. MacDonald.

Jewish thought and life are discussed by Moses Gaster, A. E. Suffrin, and W. Brandt. "Bene-Israel" is the title of a five-page article by J. H. Lord on a body of Jews of that name found in the Bombay Presidency of India. A. H. Sayce writes on "Bull," and G. A. Barton on "Baalzebub," "Belial," "Abode of the Blest," and "Semitic and Egyptian Asceticism."

A rather humorous and discouraging result appears as the conclusion of some of the discussions. For example, after a treatment of more than two pages of fine print on "Asceticism (Jewish)," A. E. Suffrin concludes that there was no real asceticism among the Jews. G. A. Barton on "Asceticism (Semitic and Egyptian)," finds no monasticism until Christian times. F. L. Griffith on "Atheism (Egyptian)" discovers no traces of definite atheistic teaching in Egypt. S. Daiches on "Atheism (Jewish)" tells us that Atheism as a system of thought had no place in Judaism. Such treatments are verily encyclopedic.

The articles in this field are eminently thorough and up to date with lists of the best literature for exhaustive study.

The extended articles on "the Bible" and "the Bible in the Church" are contributed by two eminent New Testament scholars, William Sanday of Oxford, and Ernst von Dobschütz of Strassburg. These articles together cover more than fifty pages, and their elaborate analysis makes consultation easy. Professor von Dobschütz' paper in particular is one of unusual scope and precision.

J. H. Bernard, of Dublin, writes with much learning on "Assumption" and "Ascension"; and there are good articles on "Athanasius" and "Augustine." In general the discussions are marked by breadth of view and the historical interest.

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**Essays in Pentateuchal Criticism.** By HAROLD M. WIENER, M.A., LL.B., of Lincoln's Inn, Barrister-at-Law, London, England. Oberlin, Ohio: Bibliotheca Sacra, 1909. xiv + 239 pages. \$1.50.

This volume is a collection of different articles which appeared originally in the *Bibliotheca Sacra* during 1908 and 1909. The avowed object of

these essays is to disprove the critical analysis of the Pentateuch. This the author is confident he has succeeded in accomplishing (cf. p. 2); likewise the publishers who designate his work as "the *coup de grâce* to the Wellhausen critics of the Pentateuch"—"the most damaging indictment of the prevalent Higher Criticism that has ever been made." Inasmuch as the documentary theory of the Pentateuch (or more correctly the Hexateuch) is so widely accepted by Old Testament scholars, a book with an avowed object such as Mr. Wiener's and with such claims for its success naturally challenges attention. But after a careful reading of the book it seems to the reviewer that he has signally failed to make good his claim, notwithstanding his scholarly ability and skill in manipulating his material. The marked partisan spirit which pervades the work gives it the character of a "plea" for the conservative position, rather than a judicial treatment of the whole problem. Nor does the spirit of ridicule and detraction which appears so frequently help to commend the book to thoughtful minds. One would hardly recognize the eminent scholars identified with the critical view from this characterization of their investigations: "the lack of care, accuracy, thoroughness, judgment, and impartiality that constitute the outstanding features of all the higher critical work" (78).

Within the scope of this review it is manifestly only possible to touch upon some of the more marked defects in the author's handling of this important subject. The great service rendered by the critical view of the Hexateuch is the reasonable interpretation which it furnishes of the different codes of laws as corresponding to different periods in the history of Israel, instead of all being the work of the Mosaic age. The place of Deuteronomy occupies a very important place in the critical position. Its date in the seventh century is claimed by the critical school to be "one of the most absolutely assured results of biblical criticism" (Budde). Its distinctive literary characteristics; the fact that it is permeated in such a marked manner by the teaching of the eighth-century prophets; the more developed civilization implied in its laws (which are to so large an extent based on the older Book of the Covenant), aside from the record of its discovery (II Kings, chaps. 22, 23) point clearly to its date, and substantiate the claim that "the Israel" of Deuteronomy "is separated from the Israel of the Exodus by a complete social revolution." But aside from a few pages of his book (171-74), and his discussion of the material of Deuteronomy relating to the central sanctuary, one looks in vain for such consideration of this book as its importance demands. And this is the more striking as the author accuses the critics of neglecting to consider all the facts (193). He regards it as the work of Moses though acknowledging its discovery in the reign of



Josiah (219 f.). In view of the recognized literary methods of the Hebrews, one must express surprise to find in a work of the standing of this author such references as "forgers of laws, revelation by literary fraud" (173) as applied to the critical position here. Surely the author would not claim that the Book of Ecclesiastes was a forgery because Solomon is represented as speaking, though all the evidence points conclusively to its date centuries later. The explanation which it seems must commend itself here is well expressed by Cornill: "If the author recast a collection of legislation, traditionally handed down to him as Mosaic, in the form of a freely composed speech of Moses, he only did what all historical writers have done, and to speak of his work as a literary fraud is out of the question; indeed Deuteronomy cannot even rightly be described as pseudepigraphic."<sup>1</sup>

The author holds to the Mosaic authorship of the Priestly law also (i.e., Exod., chaps. 25-31, 35-40; Leviticus, and the legal material scattered through Numbers). But here again a very significant omission is to be noted, upon which great emphasis is placed by the critical school, viz., the marked distinction between priests and Levites in this code. In it priestly offices are limited to descendants of Aaron (Lev. 7:32-34; Num. 18:8-20), the Levites being attendants at the sanctuary (Num. 3:6 ff.; 18:2), and this relationship is represented as dating from the time of Moses. But from Ezek. 44:6 ff. it is clear that the Levites as a class in pre-exilic history exercised the priestly prerogatives, and this fact seems recognized in the Deuteronomic code, in the common designation, "the priests, the Levites" (Deut. 18:1 ff.). This is one of the important arguments pointing to the late date of the priestly code to which he has not even alluded.

In reference to his explanation of the peculiarities of the priestly code being due to the fact that it was designed solely for the priests, and that its early date is shown by pre-exilic references to its institutions, it may be said that undoubtedly the priestly ritual originally was a matter largely of priestly concern, and also that allusion is made to many of the priestly usages in pre-exilic literature. This is recognized by the critics (cf. Driver, *Introduction*, 143 f.). But the evidence all goes to prove that the priestly ritual originally was much simpler, and that in its present form, as the code was promulgated by Ezra and Nehemiah (cf. Neh., chap. 8), it was designed for the instruction of the people at large as well as the priests.

In a word, the view that the Book of the Covenant belongs to early times; that Deuteronomy is a revision of the earlier code as influenced by prophetic

<sup>1</sup> Cornill, *Old Testament Introduction*, 64; cf. Budde, *Religion of Israel to the Exile*, 172; Driver, *Introduction*, 91; Driver, *Deuteronomy*, lxi f.; Harper, *Deuteronomy*, 30 f.; Hastings, *Dictionary of the Bible*, II, 368; extra vol., 625, etc.



teaching, and that the priestly law is the outgrowth of the conserving priestly influence which came to the front in the Exile and early post-exilic times, is the view which alone gives a reasonable explanation to the different codes of laws and harmonizes with the well-established facts of the history of Israel.

While the division of the narrative material of the Hexateuch into sources, corresponding to the legal codes, is an interesting and important study, it is subordinate in importance to the phase of the problem just considered. And the difficulties which may be connected with the analysis in places, real or exaggerated, ought never to be allowed to obscure or overshadow the more important values of the critical view, as they have in this volume. It is a question how many will care to follow through the author's discussion here in his efforts to disprove the critical position. This part covers 147 pages and it is not easy reading. The author's contentions can be best answered by consulting some standard Introduction or the commentaries, but attention may be called to one significant omission which has a very important place in the decision.

From the first chapter those unfamiliar with the ground would naturally infer that the ground upon which the sources up to Exod., chap. 6, were distinguished was largely a difference in the use of the divine names. It is true that this gave the original clue in the investigation of the problem, and still has an important place, but it is only part of the data. Even if the author's contention should be accepted (which is exceedingly doubtful; cf. for example the preferences for divine names in different collections within the Psalter), that the versions, which show many diversions from the Hebrew text in the use of the divine names are to be preferred, his conclusion by no means is established that the grounds for differences of sources have been set aside. For in addition to the use of the divine names each source has its characteristic words, phraseology, and theological conceptions which are recognized by all holding the modern view of the Hexateuch. This fact has been practically ignored by this writer. (This statement is made notwithstanding what is given on pp. 78 ff., which is most superficial and misleading, as can be determined by consulting any good Introduction or Bible Dictionary on this point.) On the basis of these grounds each source<sup>2</sup> can as a whole be distinguished clearly in the historical

<sup>2</sup> That is, regarding the prophetic sources (J and E) as one. The separation of the two up to Exod., chap. 3, is reasonably clear. After that point candid critics recognize the uncertainty in many places (cf. Bennett, *Century Bible*, art. "Exodus," 28). This admission Mr. Wiener has overlooked. It may be added that this distinction between J and E is a matter of relative unimportance. The two may for all practical purposes be regarded as one.

material, having as distinct marks as the writings of Amos, Hosea, and Isaiah have. One could with equal propriety emphasize the points in common in any three such writers as those just named and claim unity of authorship.

Another point may be referred to in the author's treatment of the problem. Among those who come in especially for expressions of ridicule and contempt (8, 44, 79, 92, etc.) are the redactors, i.e., those who according to the critical theory were responsible for welding together the sources in the history of the formation of the present Hexateuch. The especial cause of the author's attitude are the various harmonistic changes and adaptations which it is claimed were made by these compilers. This is a part of the critical theory, it must be admitted, which to those who make only a superficial survey of the problem may seem largely assumptive. Our author is too skilled a lawyer not to turn this to the best possible account in seeking to discredit the critical view. But there is a reasonable as well as unreasonable way of viewing this matter. Granted that there are different sources, then the further question arises whether such changes as are attributed to the redactors are within the range of probability. One could scarcely deny that this would be likely. Certainly such a conclusion is confirmed by what is seen elsewhere in the Old Testament, e.g., the adaptations and additions on the part of the Chronicler who used so extensively older material. The author would probably not deny this work of the Chronicler. What had its origin in the redactor's work (an exceedingly minor matter viewing the problem as a whole) has to be settled on its merits in each particular case.

It is on the basis of the larger and more fundamental considerations that the critical theory is to be judged. The author has not presented the matter in its right perspective. One might agree that the critical view in the analysis in places is conjectural; one might agree with some of the author's contentions, but this would not involve the setting-aside of the critical theory in its essential features. Its main positions are too well established on firm grounds, which are not vitally affected by this book, because it has largely ignored them.

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**The Odes and Psalms of Solomon.** Now First Published from the Syriac Version. By J. RENDEL HARRIS, M.A. Cambridge: The University Press, 1909. 154 + 54 pages.

On January 4, 1909, J. Rendel Harris, the discoverer of the Apology of Aristides, identified in a Syriac manuscript in his possession, which he had long supposed to be a Psalter, the long-lost Odes of Solomon. With them in the manuscript stood the well-known Psalms of Solomon, in a Syriac version, the Odes and Psalms being associated here as in the early stichometries. Dr. Harris prints the Syriac text of Odes and Psalms, with an extended introduction, excellent translations, and notes. We may congratulate ourselves that this first English version of the Odes is the work of a scholar of so much literary feeling as Dr. Harris. He has nobly interpreted these beautiful works of religion. We only regret that the editor has given us no index of his work or the Odes. The Odes are highly mystical in spirit, and often approach very near to gnostic forms of expression. The Syriac seems to be a translation from the Greek. Dr. Harris assigns the Odes to the first century of our era, and is inclined to ascribe them to a gentile Christian of Palestine. Professor Harnack somewhat modifies this view.<sup>1</sup> He finds in the Odes Jewish psalms of the first century which were appropriated by Christians about the beginning of the second, being considerably modified at some points to satisfy Christian needs. Some of the implications of this view are discussed elsewhere in this issue of the *Biblical World*. As they stand, Professor Harnack thinks, the Odes constitute a book of Christian songs, of the early years of the second century. A cursory reading of the Odes indeed decidedly confirms this position. Points of resemblance to the Revelation, the Fourth Gospel, I Clement, Didache, Ignatius, and Justin appear. The bold and original imagery of the Odist is very like that of Ignatius, and a detailed comparison of his work with the Apostolic Fathers promises interesting results. Occasional allusions to the gospel story appear—the Virgin birth, the baptism, the Cross, the descent into Hades—but the writer is too thorough a mystic to dwell much upon history. The student of primitive Christianity will find much to delight and engross him in this Christian Psalter of the time of Pliny and Justin. Ode 29 might almost be the hymn which Pliny says the Christians at their early morning meetings used to sing to Christ “quasi deo.” Patristic study in particular is indebted afresh to Dr. Harris for a new monument of the greatest antiquity and interest.

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<sup>1</sup> *Ein Jüdisch-Christliches Psalmbuch aus dem ersten Jahrhundert* (Leipzig, 1910).



## New Literature

The most important books listed in these columns will receive notice in the book-review pages.

### OLD TESTAMENT BOOKS

SKINNER, JOHN. A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Genesis. [International Critical Commentary.] New York: Scribners, 1910. Pp. lxxxvii + 551. \$3.

This is a valuable addition to the English commentaries on Genesis. It brings English scholarship on Genesis up to date and constitutes an invaluable source of information for every student. The point of view and method are those of historical criticism and have been made familiar to English readers by the earlier volumes of the series. A review of this book will be given later.

CURTIS, E. L. AND MADSEN, A. A. A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Books of Chronicles. [The International Critical Commentary.] New York: Scribners, 1910. Pp. xxii + 534. \$3.

There has not been an adequate commentary in English on Chronicles since the historical method of Bible-study appeared. This volume should therefore receive a hearty welcome. A review will follow in due course.

KAUTZSCH, E. Die heilige Schrift des Alten Testaments übersetzt und herausgegeben. Dritte, völlig neu gearbeitete, mit Einleitungen und Erklärungen zu den einzelnen Büchern versehene Auflage. Neunzehnte, Zwanzigste und einundzwanzigste Lieferung. Tübingen: Mohr, 1910. Pp. 193-384. M. 2.40.

These three parts of the late Professor Kautzsch's great work contain the latter half of the Psalter, translated and edited by Professor Kautzsch; Proverbs and Job, by Professor Steuernagel; Song of Songs, by Professor Budde; Ruth, by Professor Kautzsch; and Lamentations, by Professor Löhr. The high standard of the preceding parts is here well sustained.

### ARTICLES

DRIVER, S. R. The Method of Studying the Psalter. *The Expositor*, June, 1910. Pp. 507-24.

Ps. 22 is here interpreted as an illustration of the modern method in Bible-study. Dr. Driver concludes that the speaker in the psalm is not David, but the faithful Israel, speaking as an individual.

MARGOLIOUTH, G. Isaiah and Isaianic. *Ibid.*, pp. 525-29.

The writer seeks to explain how so many prophecies not written by Isaiah, the son of Amoz, came to be incorporated in the book that bears his name. His solution is that Isaiah was the founder of a "school" of prophets; that the members of this "school" constantly studied his writings and consequently became imbued with his spirit. Their own productions were naturally preserved along with those of Isaiah and probably in the same place, the headquarters of the school. The grouping of them all in one book was a natural consequence.

### NEW TESTAMENT BOOKS

THOMPSON, J. M. The Synoptic Gospels Arranged in Parallel Columns. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1910. Pp. xxviii + 161. \$2.50.

Mr. Thompson has first printed the English text of Mark in the Revised Version, setting in parallel columns all that Matthew and Luke have in common with it. The



remaining parts of Matthew follow in their order with their Lukan parallels, and finally the non-Markan parts of Luke with their parallels in Matthew. The texts are not solidly printed, but are carefully arranged in each column in short clauses, so that resemblances and differences are easily caught by the eye. Peculiar material is indicated by italics. The general arrangement is not advantageous for historical study, nor is it ideal for the study of the synoptic problem; but the detailed division into equated clauses, such as Origen used in his Hexapla, will be very helpful to the student of gospel relationships.

DURELL, J. C. V. *The Self-Revelation of Our Lord.* Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark; New York: Scribner, 1910. Pp. xxviii + 224. \$2 net.

While this book exhibits in some respects admirable method and keen discrimination, its historical criticism is not thoroughgoing enough. Indeed the author seems to set out to champion the Christology of the creeds against that of Mark, as developed, e.g. by Professor Harnack. A dogmatic point of view thus controls what should be a purely historical study.

STRACK, HERMANN L. *Jesus, die Häretiker und die Christen nach den ältesten jüdischen Angaben: Texte, Uebersetzung und Erläuterungen.* [Schriften des Institutum Judaicum in Berlin, No. 37.] Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1910. Pp. 88 + 40.

Great interest attaches to allusions to Jesus in the Jewish Talmud and Midrash. These have been collected by Professor Strack, together with the allusions to the Minim, and are published in Hebrew and German, with a short introduction, concise notes, and an index.

WEISS, BERNARD. *Der Hebräerbrief in zeitgeschichtlicher Beleuchtung.* [Texte und Untersuchungen, XXXV, 3.] Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1910. Pp. 110.

The veteran Professor Weiss seeks by a detailed examination of Hebrews from the historical points of view, to determine its date and occasion. He concludes that it was written not long before the Fall of Jerusalem in 70 A.D., and was addressed to Jewish Christians in Palestine. The serious difficulties attaching to this position are well known.

WILLSON, ROBERT N. *Medical Men in the Time of Christ.* Philadelphia: Sunday School Times Co., 1910. Pp. 157. \$1 net.

Much interesting material as to ancient medicine is touched upon in these chapters, but with little clear insight or historical sense. Nor has the writer made much use of recent literature relating to the subject.

FLEMMING, JOHANNES, AND HARNACK, ADOLF. *Ein Jüdisch-Christliches Psalmbuch aus dem ersten Jahrhundert* (The Odes of Solomon, now first published from the Syriac Version by J. Rendel Harris, 1909). [Texte und Untersuchungen, XXXV, 4.] Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1910. Pp. vii + 134.

Dr. Flemming has translated Rendel Harris' Syriac Odes of Solomon into German, and Professor Harnack has supplied an introduction and commented upon them. Harris' positions are for the most part accepted, but Harnack thinks the Odes were like the Psalms of Solomon, originally Jewish, and belonged to the first century of our era, the Christian touches being added to some of them early in the second century. As they stand, they are to be viewed as Christian songs of the early second century; in fact, we have in them a hymn book of the early church—a thing of the very greatest value and interest. All students of the Odes will be interested in Harnack's contribution to their interpretation.





"COME UNTO ME"

*Vladimir Makovsky*

# THE BIBLICAL WORLD

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## Editorial

### THE PASSING OF APOCALYPTICISM

A reader of a recent editorial utterance of this journal writes asking that we cite "one fact in the spiritual life that has been discovered since the canon was closed." It is difficult to give to our correspondent a satisfactory answer, for the reason that that which commends itself to us as an established fact may seem to him a vain assertion of science falsely so called. Partly for this reason we prefer to answer him in the words of an accomplished scholar of established reputation for conservatism.

In a recent sermon, Dr. Inge, Lady Margaret professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge, says, "The earliest Christianity regarded the ascension as the penultimate scene of a drama which was very shortly to have its *dénouement* by the reappearance of the Messiah in the clouds of heaven. This is a fact, which, however unwelcome it may be to us, we ought, no doubt, to face." Why this fact is unwelcome appears clearly in a later sentence. "Our Lord is recorded in the gospels to have made predictions which certainly have not been, and cannot now be, fulfilled." These predictions, Dr. Inge maintains, though ascribed to Jesus in the gospels, and incorporated into early Christianity, were not really uttered by Jesus. "On the other hand," he says, "the view hitherto commonly held by most Christians, that our Lord promised to return to earth at a far distant date unknown to himself, does not seem to have any support in the New Testament. The day and the hour, we read, were unknown; but the predictions, as they stand in the documents, clearly assert the return or coming of the Son of man as imminent. We are not therefore justified . . . in claiming that we can escape the



difficulty by the supposition that the disciples simply antedated the fulfilment of a prophecy which still holds good."

It may be necessary to inform our readers that Dr. Inge is not "attacking" the Bible, but speaking as a defender of the faith. The sermon is chiefly directed against those who, as Dr. Inge contends, by imputing to Jesus the views which the gospels ascribe to him, in effect deny to him profound insight, and even moral sanity.

Into the merits of the controversy between those who defend the gospels as against Jesus, and those who employ a critical view of the gospels in defense of Jesus, it is not our purpose now to enter. We desire rather to call attention to the fact that the conception of a Kingdom of God already among us, slowly but surely moving toward the realization of its ideal of perfected personal character and a perfected human society, has already largely displaced the hope of a day when the present order of things shall suddenly and forcibly be destroyed to make way for the instantaneous establishment of a heavenly kingdom. This is, we believe, an inevitable result of a thorough study of the New Testament in connection with earlier and later history and is, therefore, destined to be more and more generally accepted by the Christian church. Instead of waiting for the Day of the Lord as an event which is to come "out of the clouds," Christians increasingly find inspiration to strenuous endeavor in the thought that working with God in an age-long process, they may not only achieve something for their own day but make some contribution, be it ever so small, toward the realization of that ultimate ideal toward which God is continually guiding the race.

It will be worth while to consider how this change has come about.

The early preachers of the gospel proclaimed a God who, being righteous, would punish sin, but who, being merciful, would save those who with faith in Jesus turned from sin. That message, essentially one with that of the prophets, the church today believes and preaches. It is the heart of the gospel. But in that day the faith in Jesus as Messiah and Savior, itself largely cast in the mold of Jewish thought, naturally involved for those who accepted it the expectation of the early and visible return of the Lord, to execute judgment on the wicked and bring salvation to those who believed.

The Thessalonians, having listened to the message of the apostle Paul, "turned from idols to serve a living and true God, and to wait for his Son from the heavens . . . even Jesus, the deliverer from the coming wrath." And that Jesus, the apostle taught them to expect, would presently descend from heaven with a shout, with the voice of an archangel and with the trump of God, and the dead in Christ would rise, and the living be caught up into the air.

The non-occurrence of these events at the expected time was naturally at first interpreted simply as delay, and the hope was carried forward from one generation to another. That this should have been done not simply from generation to generation, but eventually from century to century, was less natural. It was made possible partly by the continuousness of Christian thought, but chiefly by the attitude that was maintained toward the Bible. Forgetting in large part its historical origin, and treating it as a source-book for doctrine, the church conceived of it as addressed to each succeeding generation as if written for it alone. Thus amid much variety of opinion in detail Christian theologians to this day have succeeded in maintaining a doctrine of the personal return of Jesus in the clouds, and this expectation, sometimes in crude, sometimes in more refined form, has entered largely into the thought of the church at large. Even more influential than the teachings of theologians have been the beautiful hymns in which this hope has found expression, and which have maintained their hold on the affections of young and old to this hour.

On the other hand, we have of late been learning that a sound interpretative method demands that we read each book of the Bible in the light of its own age and the circumstances that gave rise to it. As a consequence of such reading it has become evident, as Dr. Inge affirms, that the hope of an end of the world, as long cherished by the church, has no sufficient basis in the New Testament. For the hope of the early church we had, almost unconsciously, substituted a very different one. If for a moment we fancied that we might reverse the process and go back to the thought of primitive times, this dream had speedily to be set aside. A study of the origin of the primitive hope disclosed the fact that while the heart of it was the conviction that God, who punishes sin, will also surely bring salvation to his people, the apocalyptic shell of it, the expectation of a visible

return of the Christ and a cataclysmic end of the world was taken up by early Christianity from a stream of highly imaginative Jewish thought, of the existence of which we have abundant evidence in the apocalyptic literature of that period. Rising when and where it did, Christianity could scarcely have escaped bearing in this respect the marks of its origin. As a vehicle for the faith and hope which were characteristic of early Christianity this apocalypticism undoubtedly did a useful work. It served the needs of early Christianity, as the law of circumcision was of value in one period of Old Testament history, and that of unclean meats in another. But a study of its origin inevitably brings its validity for us under suspicion, and a study of the historic sequel to it decisively discredits it. The apocalyptic hopes were never fulfilled. Subsequent history disproved them. For centuries men escaped the recognition of this fact and of its significance, partly through ignorance of the historic conditions that gave birth to the hopes, partly by a more or less evasive exegesis. These ways of escape are no longer open. The doctrine commonly held for centuries is not really that of the New Testament; and that the earlier apocalypticism which it displaced was the shell of a great truth, not the truth itself, cannot now escape recognition. The Kingdom of God is among us, ever coming, destined increasingly to come, as God works in men and men learn to work with God for the realization of the perfect ideal.

For ourselves we do not speak of this result with regret. We believe it to be a gain, not a loss. Inevitable as both the previous stages of the belief were, useful in their time as they may have been, it is for us a positive gain and an unmixed good to eliminate from our thinking any lingering element of apocalypticism. Our hope is set not on a Kingdom of God to be ushered in by a personal visible coming of the king in the clouds, an overthrowing of all human institutions, and the establishing of new heavens and a new earth, but on the ever larger and fuller development of the Kingdom of God that is now on earth. We are preaching the gospel not till, the witness having been borne, the nations shall be destroyed and the handful of the redeemed shall become the nucleus of a new era, but in the confident hope that little by little the leaven may leaven the whole lump and the nations of the earth become the Kingdom of God and of his Christ.

The inspiration of a victorious Christianity lies not in the hope of rescuing one's self and others from an impending cataclysm, but in the joyful devotion of one's self to the task of helping to create for today and for the future an order of things in which God's will shall be supreme and mutual love shall govern in all human relations.

This is not to repudiate primitive Christianity. It is to recover something of the freshness and vigor that characterized it in its own time. It is to do for our day what the apostle Paul did in his day, when perceiving that many of the statutes of the Old Testament were weights about the neck of religion, unjustified by any fundamental principle of religion and morality, he dared to say even to immature gentile Christians, "Ye were called for freedom." "Be not entangled again in a yoke of bondage."



## TESTING THE DOCTRINE OF INSPIRATION

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No feature of modern religious thought is more evident than the uncertainty and confusion which exists in regard to the doctrine of inspiration. The biblical scholarship of the past century has compelled a thoroughgoing reconsideration of the doctrine of Scripture which found a place in Protestant creeds. As Professor William Newton Clarke says, "Long discussion has rendered the word 'inspiration' ambiguous, and a better day for popular faith will have come when discussion has been transferred from the inspiration of the Scriptures to the Scriptures themselves, their qualities, their value, and their power."<sup>1</sup> Dr. Augustus H. Strong trenchantly says, "Perhaps the best theory of inspiration is to have no theory."<sup>2</sup> The recently published volume of Professor Orr's on the subject<sup>3</sup> will seem to many readers to indicate a transition stage in the progress of theological thinking, rather than a finally tenable theory. A "plenary" inspiration of the Bible which admits such limitations as imperfect moral and religious ideas, maximum and minimum spirituality, and defective sources of historical information, creates considerable perplexity.

It is the purpose of this article to examine the tests which may be applied to determine the genuineness and value of alleged inspiration. Can we distinguish definitely between an inspired utterance and one that is not inspired? Or do the facts compel us to correlate inspired utterances with the normal rational powers of man? Is it possible to find in the books of the Bible evidence of an inspiration which is totally absent from other literature? What are we to think of the assertions of some men today that they act and speak under the direct guidance of the Holy Spirit? These are some of the questions which earnest

<sup>1</sup> *Outline of Christian Theology*, 38.

<sup>2</sup> *Systematic Theology*, I, 211.

<sup>3</sup> *Revelation and Inspiration* (Scribner, 1910).

inquirers are asking. What tests of inspiration may be applied so that faith may not be at the mercy of uncontrolled emotion?

#### I. THE JEWISH DOCTRINE OF AN INSPIRED CANON OF SCRIPTURE

Christianity inherited from Judaism the conception of a sacred literature given to the world by men who spoke under the special guidance of the Spirit of God. The splendid utterances of the prophets kindled the faith which enabled the remnant of Israel to withstand the disintegrating influences of post-exilic times. As generation after generation passed without the dawn of that political glory which the prophets had foretold, faith was kept alive by the belief that in spite of adverse appearances the prophetic message was nevertheless true. No matter how discouraging might be the actual situation; no matter how history might contradict the religious hopes of the people; the inspired promises of God's prophets could not fail. These centuries of Jewish history saw the development of a theory of inspiration which enabled faith to ignore the challenge of current history. When events seemed to prove Jewish hopes false, it was possible to insist on the infallibility of the message which God had delivered to his servants of old. Thus it came about that to be religious meant to believe in the divine authority of the Law and the Prophets.

The exact character of the inspiration which produced these sacred books was usually not accurately defined. Philo and Josephus, following the Platonic conception of ecstatic inspiration, suggested that the authors of Scripture were passive channels of a divine utterance.<sup>4</sup> But for Judaism in general, it was enough to be certain that in the books of the Old Testament one had the unquestioned Word of God. The development of an artificial system of exegesis, by means of which isolated texts were made to teach general religious or moral truths, served to conceal the data which would militate against a theory of infallible inspiration. The Scriptures became a collection of oracles rather than a record of historical religious development.

<sup>4</sup> E.g., *De special. legibus* iv. 8, "For a prophet gives forth nothing at all of his own, but acts as an interpreter at the prompting of another in all his utterances, and as long as he is under inspiration, he is in ignorance, his reason departing from its place and yielding up the citadel of his soul, when the divine Spirit enters."

Strictly speaking, there was no testing of inspiration. The doctrine of a specially inspired canon was simply assumed to be true.

## II. THE TESTING OF EARLY CHRISTIAN INSPIRATION

The disciples of Jesus, like all loyal Jews, took for granted the authority and inspiration of the Old Testament. But after the day of Pentecost they were conscious that the Spirit was speaking in the present as well as in the past. They had an inspired Scripture; but they also had inspired men living and speaking among them. Any earnest and consecrated disciple might hope to receive a special message from the Spirit. To be "filled with the Spirit" was the ideal religious achievement.

The problem which confronted the early Christians, then, was not at all like the problem which confronts a modern man who investigates the question of inspiration. We assume that men are not normally inspired. The inspired man is an exception. In the early church, on the contrary, the problem was set by the abundance of inspiration. Men claiming the possession of the Spirit could cite divine authority for deeds and words which might not be in accord with the ideals of the community as a whole. As time went on, and the body of Christian teaching became more varied, the necessity for determining how to distinguish between true and false inspiration became pressing. The apostle Paul, in the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth chapters of I Corinthians, seeks to lay down some principles of control over those who are moved by the Spirit. Another writer advises caution with the significant words, "Beloved, believe not every spirit, but prove the spirits; because many false prophets are gone out into the world."<sup>5</sup> One of the most interesting sidelights on this problem of standardizing the utterances of inspiration is found in the *Didache*, where directions are given for distinguishing between a true prophet and a false prophet.<sup>6</sup> Here it is evident that the

<sup>5</sup> I John 4:1.

<sup>6</sup> "Let every apostle that cometh to you be received as the Lord. But he shall not remain except one day; but if he remain three days, he is a false prophet. And when the apostle goeth away, let him take nothing but bread until he reach a place where he can lodge; but if he ask money, he is a false prophet. And every prophet that speaketh in the Spirit ye shall neither try nor judge; for every sin shall be forgiven, but this sin shall not be forgiven. But not everyone that speaketh in the Spirit



claim of a prophet to be inspired was treated with great respect, but that the ultimate test was to be found in the ability of an alleged prophet to command the moral approval of the Christian community. This passage and Paul's advice in I Cor. xiv are significant in showing how necessary it was in the early days of the church to confront inspiration with rational and moral tests. While granting to every Christian the right to seek special inspiration and while listening with respect to one who believed himself to be filled with the Spirit, the wise leaders of the church insisted that the prophet should say and do the things which made for moral and religious welfare or else forfeit any claim to the allegiance of his fellow-disciples. *Christian* inspiration must be distinguished from *false* inspiration. The test was the practical one of power to edify. Any message was inspired which brought to men's hearts a sense of God's presence and power through faith in Christ. Without this practical result mere ecstasy was discredited.

### III. THE CATHOLIC TEST OF INSPIRATION

The inroads of pagan thought into the church under the alluring forms of Gnosticism made it imperative that the teachers in the church should be required to maintain the "faith once delivered." One result of this crisis was the elaboration of the conception of a closed canon of Christian Scriptures. To guard against the perversion of the faith, decisive appeal was made to the original form of doctrine as set forth by the inspired apostles. The simple tests suggested by Paul and by the *Didache* were not deemed sufficient. Many a heretic could speak to "edification." Many a community would welcome and tolerate a gifted "pneumatic." The only way in which to be sure of the truth seemed to be to restrict the gift of inspiration to the apostolic circle.<sup>7</sup>

is a prophet; but only if he hold the ways of the Lord. Therefore from their ways shall the false prophet and the (true) prophet be known. And every prophet who ordereth a meal in the Spirit eateth not from it except indeed he be a false prophet; and every prophet who teacheth the truth, if he do not what he teacheth is a false prophet. . . . Whosoever saith in the Spirit, Give me money, or something else, ye shall not listen to him; but if he saith to you to give for others' sake who are in need, let no one judge him" (chap. 11).

<sup>7</sup> This is interestingly shown in the so-called Muratorian Fragment, where the religious value of the Shepherd of Hermas is admitted; but such value does not entitle



In this restriction to the apostles of the right to be the author of a scriptural writing it became possible to exclude from places of influence those who professed to have the Spirit, but who did not seem to teach in accordance with the ecclesiastical interpretation of the original gospel. The theory was formulated that Christ took pains to select those to whom the Spirit should be given, and that these inspired men preached everywhere the true doctrine. The books which they wrote are, of course, inspired. But their oral teaching was equally inspired; and authoritative appeal was made to the inspiration of the apostolic doctrine embodied in the rule of faith and to the secret tradition committed to their successors, the bishops.<sup>8</sup> The test of inspiration thus becomes external. One has only to ask whether a teaching which claims to be inspired actually comes from one whom Christ appointed as his apostle and to whom he gave the requisite endowment of the Spirit. And since the true apostles appointed their successors to whom was committed the custody of apostolic truth, it is only within the church that one can gain reliable information concerning the limits of inspiration. The voice of the apostolic church decides everything. Is there really any testing at all in Catholicism?

#### IV. THE PROTESTANT TEST OF INSPIRATION

When Luther challenged the right of the church to determine what one ought to believe, he challenged at the same time the right of the church to tell us what books are inspired. We are no longer to hold the books of the Bible as sacred because the Catholic church tells us that they are the work of prophets or apostles. Since the church has proved herself to be in error on other points, we cannot be sure that she is not wrong on this point also. Protestantism, therefore, made necessary a different test from that which Augustine employed when he said, "I should not believe the gospel, did not the authority of the Catholic church move me thereto."<sup>9</sup> Nevertheless, it to a place in the canon, for Hermas lived too late to be numbered among the scriptural prophets, and he cannot claim apostolic authority. ("Neque inter prophet[as] complet[as] numero, neque inter apostolos in finem temporum potest.")

<sup>8</sup> See Irenaeus iii. chaps. 1-4, and Tertullian, *De praescr. haer.*, for the first clear statement of this Catholic theory.

<sup>9</sup> *Cont. epist. Manich.* 5.

the early Protestants were at one with Catholics in their conviction that faith rests on the Word of God rather than on the reasonings of man. There was no abandonment of the idea of inspiration; there was simply the recognition of a different test of inspiration.

This test was found in the realm of practical religious efficiency. Luther required that the Word of God should be able to prove itself by its actual power in the soul. He insisted that whatever preaches Christ (*was Christum treibt*) so as to bring religious assurance is genuinely scriptural, even if it were written by a Judas or a Pilate. On the other hand, since the epistle of James did not seem to him to bring that religious assurance which he expected in the Word of God, he called it "an epistle of straw."<sup>10</sup> He saw no evidence that the Apocalypse was the work of the Holy Spirit.

Calvin elaborated this practical religious test into his famous doctrine of the "inner testimony of the Spirit." Only God himself can attest his written Word. We must seek the authentication of God's own assertion. The Catholic church Calvin believed to be a human institution, and hence liable to human error. God's direct assurance to the heart of the believer is the ultimate test of the inspiration of scripture.<sup>11</sup>

As is well known, Luther in his early enthusiasm exercised considerable freedom in criticizing the accepted canon of Scripture. But when such freedom was exercised by those whom Luther disapproved, he saw the danger of allowing so subjective a test. Consequently, in his later controversial writings, he attempted to retain the divine authority of Scripture as a whole. Calvin, after outlining the test which was described above, is certain that the entire Bible will thus commend itself to men. Later Protestant theologians sought to

<sup>10</sup> *Vorrede zum N.T.* Erlanger Ausgabe, 63, 108 ff.

<sup>11</sup> "For as God alone is a sufficient witness of himself in his own word, so also, the word will never gain credit in the hearts of men until it be confirmed by the internal testimony of the Spirit. It is necessary, therefore, that the same Spirit who spake by the mouths of the prophets should penetrate into our hearts, to convince us that they faithfully delivered the oracles which were divinely entrusted to them. . . . Therefore, being divinely illumined, by the Spirit, we believe the divine original of the Scripture, not from our own judgment or that of other men, but we esteem the certainty that we have received it from God's own mouth by the ministry of men to be superior to that of any human judgment, and equal to that of an intuitive perception of God himself in it."—*Institutes*, I, chap. 7.

strengthen this doctrine of the integrity of the Bible by elaborating the strict theories of verbal inspiration, according to which the authors of Scripture were mere amanuenses of the Holy Spirit. Little by little the test which Luther originally proposed was disregarded. In the place of the direct inner testimony of the divine spirit, came the appeal to human theories of inspiration. In their zeal to defend the authority of the entire Bible, scholars lost sight of the fact that they were abandoning the one element in the Reformation doctrine which differentiated it from Catholicism. That element was the belief in an *immediate* divine authentication of the Word of God in the heart of the believer, in contrast to the *mediated* authentication by the fallible voice of the Catholic church.

Now, to substitute the human theories of Protestant theologians for the human theories of the Catholic church means to eliminate the distinction between the Catholic and the Protestant tests. When a scholar's reasoning today throws doubt upon the accuracy of biblical statements, his departure from the original Protestant ideal is immediately recognized and disapproved by orthodoxy. What is not so clearly seen is that the *defense* of the truth of the Bible, if it be the product of human scholarship, is just as signal a departure from the original Protestant ideal of an immediate divine authentication of the biblical message. The moment one ceases to be spontaneously certain of the truth of a biblical statement, the moment it becomes necessary to argue one's self into the acceptance of the Bible, that moment one has ceased to apply the original Reformation test. And it makes only a formal difference whether on the basis of human reason one affirms or denies the biblical doctrine. In either case rationalism has been substituted for immediate divine illumination. "It is acting a preposterous part," said Calvin, "to endeavor to produce sound faith in the Scripture by disputations."

A thoroughgoing application of the Reformation test would thus mean the abandonment of a priori attempts to demonstrate the equal inspiration of all the Bible, and would involve the inquiry as to just what messages have the inherent power to convince the soul that God is speaking. So far as I know, this original Protestant test has never been conscientiously tried, save by a German theologian, who attempted to ascertain just how much of the Bible either evokes a



response in the soul of man, or proclaims Christ.<sup>12</sup> The reader of his investigation perceives at once that large portions of our canonical literature are excluded by this test. Moreover, the standard is too subjective to yield any fixed results. What appeals to one reader of the Bible with divine power may not move another. The only certain thing is that the consistent application of the original Protestant test of inspiration would make it impossible for us to retain the canon of the Bible intact. Moreover, the question would immediately arise whether we should not admit into the selection of inspired Scriptures many utterances not found in the Bible. On the basis of this Protestant test, which would more immediately prove its inspiration: the Book of Leviticus or Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*? How would Psalm 109 compare with some of the hymns of the church? The fact that Protestant theologians have not consistently employed the test which Luther and Calvin proposed shows their conscious or unconscious recognition of the fact that it would not yield the results demanded by the older conception of the authority of the canonical Scripture. An objective canon of Scripture cannot be maintained by a subjective test.

#### V. THE TEST OF HISTORICAL CRITICISM

Strictly speaking, historical criticism cannot deal with anything which lies outside the realm of history. The historian cannot, as a historian, investigate the metaphysical question as to the reality of a supernatural influence. He can simply show the historical facts concerning the origin of biblical books, so far as these are to be ascertained from the sources at our command. But in so doing the historical investigator can answer the question whether the biblical writings claim for themselves such inspiration as is demanded by the theories of theologians.

An inductive study of the Bible reveals the fact that very few of the biblical books lay claim to any special inspiration. The prophets of Israel, indeed, spoke under the compulsion of the divine Spirit. Paul in some of his utterances believes himself to be in the control of the Spirit, and hence able to discern truths beyond the reach of the natural man.<sup>13</sup> But not all of his counsels in his epistles bear

<sup>12</sup> Gess, *Die Inspiration der Helden der Bibel und der Schriften der Bibel* (1891).

<sup>13</sup> E.g., I Cor., chap. 2.



the stamp of this divine certainty. The Apocalypse (concerning the value of which there has been so much doubt in the history of the church) is unequivocal in its claim to be derived from supernatural inspiration. But not one of the historical books of either the Old or New Testament gives any information which would justify us in assuming that they were not written according to the methods of literary composition current in their day. Indeed, Luke emphasizes the process of careful examination of existing records from which he compiled his own gospel. The historical books of the Old Testament make frequent reference to other books (now lost) which readers are advised to consult for fuller information. In short, the ecclesiastical theory of the inspiration of the Bible as a whole is untenable in the light of the facts recorded in the Bible itself.

But this is not all. Historical investigation discovers also that there are writings outside the canon of Scripture which lay explicit claim to divine inspiration. The Shepherd of Hermas recounts in detail the coming of the heavenly visitant bringing a book which the author copied without understanding its meaning. Fifteen days later, by special revelation, he received the power to interpret it. The second and third parts of the work profess to contain simply what was dictated by the heavenly shepherd.<sup>14</sup> There could scarcely be a more explicit assertion of divine inspiration than this. Why, then, should it not be included in the canon of inspired Scripture? We have already cited the opinion of the so-called Muratorian fragment on this question. We find several apocryphal books, such as the Revelation of Moses, Revelation of Esdras, Revelation of Paul, etc., taking the form of a direct communication of divine truth from heaven. Mohammed declares the Koran to have been written in heaven and revealed to him by the angel Gabriel.<sup>15</sup> Within the past century in our own land Joseph Smith, Madam Blavatsky, and Mrs. Eddy have all professed to bring to man inspired truth. As compared with some of these non-canonical books, the Bible makes very modest claims.

The results of historical investigation, therefore, make it impossible to draw a sharp line between the books of the Bible and other

<sup>14</sup> See Vision II, chaps. 1-4, and Vision V.

<sup>15</sup> See Suras 85, 87.

writings as respects their claim to divine inspiration. We have in the Bible exactly what we have outside, so far as the evidence goes—viz., some writings which allege that they were produced under the influence of divine inspiration and others which make no such claim. We find that the book in the Bible which makes the most explicit declaration of its divine origin (the Apocalypse) has encountered great opposition to its admission into the circle of sacred books; while others which lay no claim to special inspiration have been unanimously cherished and honored. Thus historical scholarship, like the Protestant test of religious efficacy, does not justify a rigid distinction between biblical and non-biblical writings on a basis of inspiration.

This does not mean that inspiration is denied to the Bible. It simply means that we cannot put the writings of our canonical Scriptures in one class and declare them to be inspired throughout, while all other literature is declared to be uninspired. To deny the inspiration of the great prophets of Israel would be possible only by ignoring their own testimony and discrediting the convictions of religious men through the centuries since the days of the prophets. But what may be said of Jeremiah can scarcely be said of the Chronicler, either historically or religiously. Nor can we deny to Mohammed or to Joan of Arc all share in the experience reflected in the biblical Apocalypse. The facts revealed by historical inquiry compel us to abandon that distinction between canonical and uncanonical books which has usually been presupposed.

#### VI. THE TESTS OF PSYCHOLOGY

Modern psychology is rescuing us from the barren rationalism of the eighteenth century, in which an intellectual "reason" was exalted to the supreme place. In recent years, psychologists have taken seriously the task of investigating occult phases of psychic activity. Indeed, when Professor James published his *Varieties of Religious Experience*, it seemed to many readers that he had laid altogether too much stress upon exceptional and extreme forms of religion. But it may be regarded as a scientifically established fact that certain mysterious powers manifest themselves in consciousness with such frequency that it is vain to deny their presence in human experience. The occasions of psychic activity are so many and so varied that we

are coming to the conviction that our consciously organized mental processes constitute only a portion of the entire life of the soul. The prominence of discussions concerning the "subconscious" or "subliminal" self and the investigations of the Society for Psychical Research are indications of the seriousness with which scientific minds are confronting the occult aspects of psychical activity.

So far as psychology is concerned, the fact of inspiration (as an experienced conviction of possession by a superhuman spirit) is established beyond all controversy. The genuineness of the experience of being "possessed" is unquestionable. But this psychological experience occurs most frequently where there is a low grade of civilization and intelligence. Indeed, in China demoniacal possession is so common and so genuinely believed to be due to the activity of spirits, that Dr. Nevius held that there was a real indwelling of evil spirits in the persons afflicted.<sup>16</sup> The oracles of Greece, originally believed to be due to real inspiration, gradually became discredited with growing culture. Today men who assert themselves to have a special indwelling of the Spirit are likely to betray fanatical traits which prevent more thoughtful religious men from crediting their alleged inspiration.

Nevertheless, there are plenty of instances of apparently occult knowledge which deserve and receive careful consideration from psychologists. Instances abound of geniuses who can produce extraordinary work without being able to explain how it is done. Hypnotism and trance reveal unsuspected capacities for apprehension and achievement. These glimpses into the deeper possibilities of psychic life open the way for the theory of a genuine communication of truth from a superhuman source, and have been made the basis for a doctrine of divine inspiration supposedly based on scientific demonstration.<sup>17</sup> If by telepathy one person may suggest ideas to another, or if through a medium in trance a spirit from another realm can communicate with mortals, why should we not expect the communication of thought from God to man to take place with some frequency in human history?

<sup>16</sup> See his *Demoniac Possession in China*.

<sup>17</sup> E.g., Professor George L. Raymond, in his book *The Psychology of Inspiration* (Putnam, 1907), attempts to justify the conception of a supernatural communication of truth by appeal to hypnotism, telepathy, and other psychic phenomena.



Thus there are psychologists who attempt to establish some actual connection between the human spirit and the divine so that transfer of thought may take place. Professor James, in his *Varieties of Religious Experience*, has used language which has often been construed in this way.<sup>18</sup> Perhaps the most persuasive exposition of this idea has been given by Professor Rufus M. Jones.<sup>19</sup> He uses the favorite simile of submerged mountain peaks, only the tops of which are visible above the surface of the water. In like manner our conscious life is only the small portion which is not submerged. The subconscious, however, is continuous with the clear field of ordinary thought and action, but it reaches down into unexplored depths. If we go deep enough, we find that every single personal life is connected with all other personal life in the depths of the subconscious, exactly as all mountains are united on the submerged floor of the ocean. Thus any life may receive in mystic experiences and in inspiration genuine communications from the universal source of personal life. Professor Jones, however, is careful to insist that the real *tests* of such inspiration must come from the total social life in which the individual finds himself. "That which is 'of God' in our lives and that which is revealed of him in our word and deed must fit into this spiritual order of our common humanity and must prove its value by promoting and advancing this order."<sup>20</sup> But other expounders of this ontological mysticism have not always been so careful. Taking the symbols by which psychologists seek to make clear the fact of the "wider self" as if they were actual scientific terms, it is possible to construct a most alluring philosophy of inspiration.<sup>21</sup> From this point of view, while it is necessary to employ some

<sup>18</sup> E.g., "The *subconscious self* is nowadays a well-accredited psychological entity; and I believe it is exactly the mediating term required." It is quite easy for one who is eager to pass to ontological aspects of religion to take the word "entity" very literally, and to picture some actual physical organ by which the superhuman gains access to the soul.

<sup>19</sup> *Social Law in the Spiritual World* (1904).

<sup>20</sup> *Op. cit.*, 201. See also the suggestive book by J. H. Leckie, *Authority in Religion* (1909).

<sup>21</sup> On this pseudo-metaphysical use of psychological figures of speech, see the keen criticisms of Professor Coe in "Religion and the Subconscious," *American Journal of Theology* (July, 1909, 337 ff.), and in "The Sources of Mystical Revelation," *Hibbert Journal*, VI (1908), 359 ff.



rational tests in order to distinguish the victim of mental disease from the truly inspired man, we may nevertheless believe that there are men whose utterances are due to an actual communication from the divine over-soul.

But even if this essentially mystical conception of revelation be accepted, we have still to ask concerning the relation between the deliverances of the inspired "subliminal" consciousness and the rational convictions of normal consciousness. The tendency of modern psychology is to insist upon the close interrelation between these two aspects of mental life. If the ideas which come in moments of ecstasy are not in sympathy with the ideas and feelings which accompany normal experience, this lack of harmony is a reason for distrusting either the one or the other state of mind. Either the ecstasy is regarded as pathological, or else the ordinary experience must be reshaped so as to interlock with the "inspired" views. The essential point is that both the intuitive, inspirational moments and the processes of careful reasoning and meditation are essentially aspects of one and the same mental life. Indeed the most striking difference between the irresponsible "dreamer of dreams" and the man of seemingly inspired insight is in the fact that the latter by sane and conscientious thought and reasoning furnishes the mind with material out of which true judgments may be formed in moments of insight.

In other words, psychology, like historical criticism, makes no rigid distinction between the occult and the normal processes of consciousness. Just as dreams are made up of elements of our experiences, so inspiration cannot put into consciousness ideas which are totally unfamiliar. The sort of "inspiration" which utters itself in unintelligible ejaculations is rightly discredited. The religious fervor of ecstasy, if it cannot be carried over into normal life and used positively, is destructive of character. The tests which psychology applies lead us to value a psychic state less for its uniqueness than for its capacity to minister to life as a whole. And those universal processes of feeling, thinking, and judging which have been built up through long centuries of race-experience are likely to minister most effectively to human needs. To be sure, the facts of genius and the whole realm of sudden insights rightly evoke admiration. Life itself is far richer than our philosophies would indicate. But we estimate these

deeper experiences most truly, not when we try to isolate them, but when we integrate them into the total content of experience.<sup>22</sup>

The results of modern scholarship thus bring us to a position very similar to that of the early Christians with respect to the gifts of the Spirit. There was then no closed canon of Christian inspiration. Any man had perfect freedom to place himself among the number of inspired men. But the demands of religious edification served to eliminate the fanatics and to push to places of leadership those whose inspiration was a part of a well-rounded religious life.

As a matter of fact, the traditional distinction between inspired and uninspired writings is generally ignored in practice. Every Christian makes his own collection of sacred utterances, into which he puts those portions of the canonical Scriptures which nourish his spirit, and into which he admits hymns and poems and confessions of faith derived from all centuries and from every land. This is not to deny the fact of inspiration. It is rather to gain a larger conception of its importance. It means that one shares the spirit of the New Testament Christians and of the Protestant reformers in refusing to close the book of God's revelation. Whoever so speaks that men are enabled to carry into their daily life the consciousness of the divine presence should be received as a spokesman of God. It is by the fruits of the Spirit that the presence of the Spirit is to be known.

<sup>22</sup> On the intimate relation between seemingly occult religious inspiration and the ideals generated by social conscience see Irving King, *The Development of Religion*, chaps. xii, xiii.

## JAR-BURIAL CUSTOMS AND THE QUESTION OF INFANT SACRIFICE IN PALESTINE

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Did the Israelites offer up human sacrifices, especially of children? Students of this problem have awaited anxiously the results of the excavation work in Palestine because it was hoped that therefrom some knowledge would be gained of the religious practices of the people who were dispossessed of their land by these Hebrew conquerors. If the Canaanites kindled upon their altars "the sacrificial fire" or by any other means offered their gods a human sacrifice, then it was argued that a strong presumption would be created that early representative Hebrews such as Abraham and Jephthah reveal by their acts the prevalence of the practice among their own people. From this standpoint then, as well as from the scientific, the question of present interest is: Did the Canaanites offer up human sacrifices to their gods?

An unqualified affirmative answer has been received from Mr. Macalister, director of the British work at Gezer, based on his interpretation of the unique find made "in the earth underlying the temple area" of that ancient city. This "cemetery of infants deposited in large jars" when carefully explored produced such positive evidence that the conclusion was reported at once: "that we have here to deal with infant sacrifices is, I think, so self-evident that it may be assumed without argument." This opinion has not since been changed but has been further affirmed by the other Palestinian excavators, Professor D. E. Sellin and Dr. Schumacher, and also by the distinguished Father Vincent of Jerusalem, author of "*Canaan d'après l'exploration récente*."

The description of the discovery as given by Mr. Macalister may be summarized as follows: In the earth underneath the temple area were found a number of large jars, each of which contained, besides the infilling earth, the bones of either a young infant or a child up to



six years of age; the bodies had not been mutilated; they had been deposited in the jar usually head downward; the jars were full of earth which there was reason for believing had been put in at the time of burial; in four cases the bones showed some traces of fire; the usual food and liquid vessels accompanied each burial.

These observations, strengthened by the opinion of Robertson Smith that in human sacrifice "effusion of blood was normally avoided," immediately produced the conviction that these infants had been "suffocated—perhaps smothered in the earth with which the jars were filled," and therefore the Canaanites followed the practice of sacrificing their first-born children to their gods.

The attributing of this inhuman practice to these early settlers in Canaan does not however seem to rest on sufficient grounds to be decisive. Three serious objections to the evidence produced and to the interpretation in general may be raised; and further we believe another interpretation or theory may be proposed which will better explain all the facts.

First: The evidence as read from the discovery itself and presented by Mr. Macalister is too indefinite and illogical to carry conviction. What evidence could be obtained from those "excessively delicate bones" that the *body* had suffered no mutilation? If it was only *usually* that the body had been deposited in the jar head downward, what about the cases where the position was reversed? Would the hypothesis of death by smothering suit all other positions as well? Was the position of the bones the same in the cases where these showed traces of fire? If so, was not then the method of introducing the body incidental? Is there among the Semites or among the peoples of the world an analogous example of a sacrificial death by means of smothering? Does the burial in the sacred place necessarily incline one to *expect* to find sacrificed victims? This can hardly be, because of the well-known custom of the Babylonians and Persians.

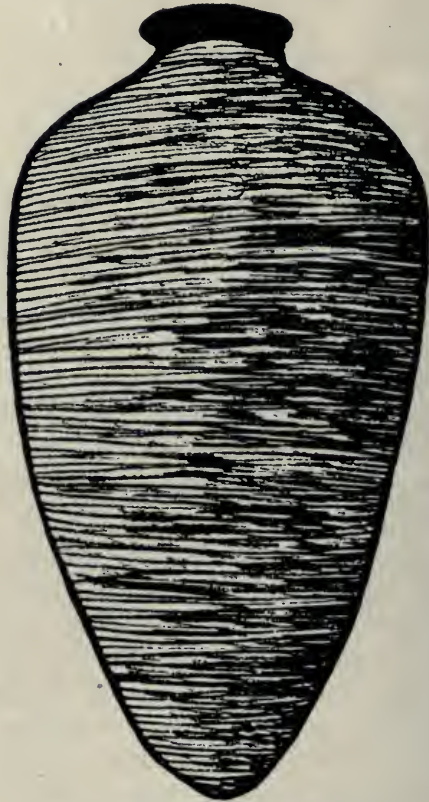
These difficulties are however increased when we seek the evidence that the earth was put in the jars at the time of burial and did not find its way there by accident. Most of the jars were not supplied with covers—a fact which immediately creates a difficulty for the theory; for if the smothering of the victim were the end sought, and the head was not always placed downward, we should expect that a



cover would be needed. Mr. Macalister himself was not certain on this point, for he reported "Whether the earth was put in at the time of burial or washed in afterward, I could not certainly decide from the indications afforded; there is reason, however, for believing that it was put in at the time of burial." This "reason for believing"



*After Birch*  
AN EGYPTIAN IBIS  
MUMMY POT



TYPE OF JAR USED FOR CHILD BURIAL  
AT GEZER

came from the fact that at el-Hesi some buried jars had been found filled with sand, which sand was different from the earth in which the jars lay buried. From the likeness of the burials at these two places, then, there seemed to be sufficient ground for drawing the above conclusion.

But while the analogy fails to stand because at Gezer it was earth—

earth, too, like that in which the jars lay—and not sand which filled the jars, Mr. Macalister is also guilty of a *circulus in probando* argument. When the jars at el-Hesi were first explored there was nothing from the character of the contained bones to tell whether they were animal or human. Since, however, those found at Gezer were certainly human it was argued that those at el-Hesi were of infants too. Thus when a doubt was raised concerning the el-Hesi find it was decided by reference to Gezer; when now evidence is needed to settle a point at Gezer reference must be made to el-Hesi. The vital point at issue thus seems to need further confirmation.

Second: Even if the archaeological evidence be indecisive, still a *presupposition* in favor of this interpretation might be urged if there were unquestioned proof that the practice of child-sacrifice existed among the Semites in general or even among the Israelites. But on this point there is at present too much divergence of opinion to render available evidence. As far as is known the only cases where the practice prevailed are those of the Carthaginian Phoenicians and the Israelites during the short period of the time of Ahab, which appearances may doubtless be credited to the influence of the Baal cult.

Third: Mr. Macalister has not proved that these temple-area burials differ in any essential respects from other jar-burials in Palestine or elsewhere in the world. Without the knowledge of the latter the theory is unchecked at the very beginning, for what was found was not "infant sacrifice" but "bones of infants buried in jars."

The other thesis, then, which may be proposed is that these Gezer burials are but another case of jar-burials and nothing further is needed for their explanation than a knowledge of the latter. To maintain it a comprehensive study of jar-burial customs must be undertaken.

#### JAR-BURIAL CUSTOMS

The term jar will be taken as including all vessels such as the urn, bowl, saucer, pot, vase, pithos, amphora, and the like where there is a general resemblance and where the same burial principles obtain.

The countries from which evidence may be gathered include Egypt, Babylonia, Assyria, Greece (including Troy, Crete, and Cyprus), Italy, Germany, Austria-Hungary, Russia, Great Britain, Denmark, Finland, Norway, Sweden, America, and Palestine.

In Egypt the indigenes, to use De Morgan's terminology, made use of both hemispherical, bowl-shaped urns and rectangular tubs, which they either crushed down over the doubled-up body or set upright in the earth after the body intact or in parts had been inserted. Good covers were provided when the upright position was chosen. No definite order was followed when the body was inserted into the urn. The size is not given, but some were large enough to cover a full-grown adult in a doubled-up posture. No orientation as to the position of the head was observed.

The later Egyptians embalmed their dead and in the special vessels called canopic jars found a convenient secondary sarcophagus



*After Schumacher*

JARS FROM THE SANCTUARY AT TEL-EL-MUTESELLIM CONTAINING THE BODIES OF CHILDREN

for the parts of the body removed in the embalming process. These jars with their contents were set in the tomb under or near the larger sarcophagus. Another use and a very extensive one was also found for the jar in the burial of such sacred animals as the ibis, cat, jackal, hawk, serpent, or rat. For these either the canopic variety was chosen or those of ordinary use. The suitability of the jar was also discovered for the safe burying-away of historical papyri. In the tomb of Rameses II such a find was made and in tombs on the western bank of the River at Thebes the Greek papyri of the Turin collection were discovered so provided for.

The pre-Semitic peoples in the valley of the Euphrates practiced cremation, but used the jar as the depository for the ashes or charred bones. The whole was then buried away in an "Aschengrab."



A variety of vessels were chosen, mention being made of the oblong tub, the pot, the bowl, the goblet, the urn, the cup, and the pithos-shaped one, i.e., a vessel long and egg-shaped, with a short, thick neck. These were quite small in size and were chosen from those in everyday use. The position of the jar when found was either upright or horizontal, and when the former was chosen an attempt was made to keep out the surrounding earth by means of a cover of broken pottery. This was, however, not always successful. The customary deposits of food and drink in jars were found near these burial urns and some articles of personal adornment were discovered mingled with the bones in the burial jar.

Mr. Koldewey, who conducted excavation work at Surghul and at el-Hibba, thought he could see *eine Art von Entwicklung* from the primitive, cup-shaped vessels to the beautiful, egg-shaped, goblet-like ones; also an evolution from the oblong, tub-shaped variety to the later anthropoidal sarcophagus, basing his conclusions on a study of the vessels and also on the depth at which each variety was found. But this seems untenable because the evidence shows that the vessels of ordinary use were those employed and hence they had not been chosen for burial purposes because of their *form*; and, further, Dr. Peters showed later that vessels of all these varieties were to be found in all strata, hence no argument could be based on the depth at which each was found.

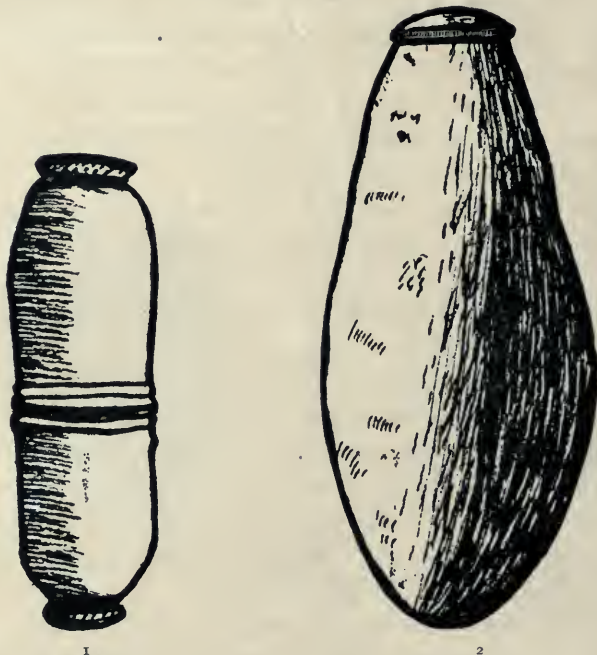
When we come to the Semitic period cremation disappears, but the use of the jar for inhumation continues. The terminology used by Layard, Loftus, Peters, and others includes simple jars, urns, or bowls, double-urn, beet-shaped jar (like those found at Gezer), goblet-shaped, baby's bath-tub, and tub.

An ordinary specimen of the beet-shaped type would measure three feet in height by eleven to twelve inches across the mouth, while a bowl or urn was one foot six inches across the mouth and of the same depth. Such vessels appeared in all strata from that dated 2500 B.C. to the upper dated 500 B.C. The question as to how a good-sized child, to say nothing of an adult, found a resting-place within this small compass is answered by the excavators in such expressions as that "the remains had been thrust in" or "crammed in with effort" or "the body had been previously broken up" or "there



was no rule except to get the body in." Thus it was that not only single, i.e., one body to a jar, but also partial and plural burials were made.

In some cases an attempt at clothing the body had been made. No rule was observed in the placing of the remains in the jar. Infants



1  
*After Peters and Taylor*

#### BURIAL JARS FROM NIPPUR AND MUGHEIR

1. A sarcophagus for a child made by placing two jars end to end and cementing them together with bitumen.
2. A specimen of the best-shaped bituminized jars used for burial at Nippur.

were inserted either head or feet first. One description given by Peters of a double urn-burial is especially interesting:

Half a meter lower than this . . . was another coffin consisting of two urns, the lower of which measured 0.95 m. in height and 0.75 m. in diameter at its largest point; and the smaller 0.60 m. and 0.55 m. . . . There were two skeletons in the larger urn, their heads at the bottom and their backbones along opposite sides.

There was no fixed rule for the providing of each vessel with a cover. Peters found some earth in some of the urns but judged that it had

fallen in through the absence or fault of the cover. The jars when laid away were placed in no special position. The place was either directly in the earth, in the ground floor beneath a house, or in one curious case in the mouth of a slipper coffin.

Concerning the location of the burial-ground, this was a point on which the Babylonians and Assyrians as well as the Persians were never in doubt. *It was always at some sacred place.* So strong a hold did this custom have that the Assyrians transported their dead to Babylonia to have them find their last resting-place in an especially historic and sacred spot. The nearer the temple, too, that one could be buried the greater was the satisfaction. A striking illustration of this is also given by Peters:

The best specimens of the beet-shaped coffins . . . were found on the temple hill (Nippur) near the surface. One found on the outer wall-line of the temple lay on its side. The mouthpiece had been broken off to admit of the insertion of the body of a child and then replaced. At another point on the same outer line of walls . . . was a similar jar lying on its side.

No different customs were observed with the jar-burials from those of the more developed coffin. The jar was in every case the "coffin" and not the "place" of burial. It was chosen from the vessels in everyday use. This excluded the looking for any religious or local ideas which might exert an influence on the form, but Peters thought he could perhaps see an evolution in the *size* of the vessel chosen. However he added, "To the last the old customs linger and we find in the latest strata bodies broken in pieces and thrust into narrow-necked jars." It may be added here as a fact of history that the anthropoidal form originated with the Egyptians and it was under this influence that the Greeks first introduced such coffins into Babylonia.

The jar was also used here for burying tablets, a silver plate, clay figures, armlets, as well as the usual food and drink offerings.

A principle of prime importance emerges from the study in this quarter, viz., *it was the jar which determined the form of the burial.* The fact that the body of an adult would be severed first at the thigh and then again at the neck in order to admit of its being stowed away in a jar three feet high; that in other cases the body was jammed or crammed in; that in others a small body would occupy space enough for two or three; in still others one body would be provided

for by distribution in two separate jars or two jars would be joined end to end and bituminized together to provide the proper amount of space; and when the neck of the jar was too small to afford entrance for the body it was broken off and then later replaced—all go to establish this point.

The Greeks, Trojans, Cretans, Cyprians and the early inhabitants of Italy all made use of the jar for burial purposes, when either cremation or inhumation was the practice followed. The Cretans add a new method of preparing the body for burial, viz., skeletonizing it. The body was first exposed till nothing but the bones remained, and these were then collected and buried in jars or earthenware sarcophagi. In the case of children, however, they buried them directly, after the body had been placed in a jar, as evidence from Palaikastro and elsewhere goes to show. No earth was purposely placed in the jar with the body. The other principles observed elsewhere prevail.

In connection with the study of the Grecian customs a statement made by Perrot and Chipiez must be corrected, viz., "Earthenware sarcophagi are invariably found *lying on their side* whether in Chaldaea or in any other quarter of the globe." This is disproven by finds made in Chaldaea, Crete, Germany, England, Palestine, and elsewhere.

Nowhere in the world according to our present knowledge has the jar been so extensively used as in Germany and in Austria-Hungary. In both countries complete urn-burial grounds have been unearthed and also special spots for the burial of children only. The urns were always provided with covers and were set upright either in the sand or earth or on a flat stone.

A phenomenon of special interest appears here in the use of fine, pure sand. This dry material in the cases of inhumation was first deposited in the freshly dug grave and then the urn was set in it. One burial hill of Roman date in Austria was found to consist of three distinct strata. The top one was a layer of deep, black earth extending to a depth of one German foot; then came a layer of yellow sand three to four feet deep, under which again was a layer of white sand. The urns in an upright position were found *only* in the yellow-sand layer. The idea seems plainly to have been to find a dry resting-place for the urns. This conclusion is strengthened by the further



facts that when the urns were not buried in either the sand or earth but in stone-built, chestlike rooms sand was first strewn over the bottom to a depth of two or three inches; and also when sand was wanting fine, dry, clay earth was used. Sometimes this sand or earth did find its way into the interior of the jar but it was never judged as having been purposely placed there except perhaps in the case where a man would throw a handful of earth on the dead as a means of purifying himself from any contamination he may have received from contact therewith.

The Fensterurn, the Gesichturn, and the Hausurn raise interesting questions because of their form, but otherwise with their use the regular customs were observed.

From the few facts known the tall jar figures most largely among the finds made in Denmark, Finland, Norway, Sweden, and Russia. No new light, however, comes for the subject in general.

The barrows of Great Britain when overturned showed the dependence of the early inhabitants on the jar as a burial vessel. The one fact of significance here is that the jar was deposited in the mound either upright or inverted, but never on the side.

In America, according to Dr. C. B. Moore, the jar has been used from aboriginal times down to the present day, but only in the southern parts of the country. Single, plural, and partial interments occur. The position of the urn when deposited varied considerably. Some were covered, others not. The uncovered ones lay on the side. No burial-field exclusively for urns has been found. With one probable exception the urns were all of the domestic variety.

*[To be continued]*



## STUDIES IN THE PSALTER

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In the following studies it is proposed to discuss some of the present-day problems connected with the criticism and interpretation of the Psalter. These problems are of the most intricate and delicate description. The assumption of a definite attitude toward them involves a preliminary judgment upon the date and significance of practically all the rest of the Old Testament literature.<sup>1</sup> In the space allotted it will be impossible to do more than sketch out what the more acute problems are, and what are the lines along which their solution may be expected. The critical position from which these problems will be viewed is, in its general outline, the position adopted in the *Hastings Bible Dictionary* and Driver's *Introduction*. In other words the common standing-ground presupposed for myself and my readers in regard to questions *outside the Psalter* is that which scholars generally have agreed to adopt.

### THE NATURE OF THE PSALTER

At the outset it is highly desirable to understand the exact nature of the book which we are to study. To what species of literature does it belong? Is it history, poetry, prophecy, wisdom? The name of the book will furnish the answer to this question.

The earliest name for it of which we have documentary record is the Greek name preserved in the manuscripts of the Septuagint and in the New Testament, where it is called "Psalms" or "Book of

<sup>1</sup> To take a simple example: Ps. 8, a Davidic psalm, is based on the cosmology of Gen., chap. 1. It is probably safe to say that it is based on the document Gen., chap. 1, itself, i.e., on the Priest's code. On the other hand, Ps. 8:4 seems to be parodied at Job 7:17; at least this is the natural interpretation and adds to the passage in Job a new and terrible force. Accordingly Ps. 8 would come after P and before Job. As P is usually assigned to the period of Ezra-Nehemiah, the inference is that Job would have to be brought down to the latter part of the Persian period at least.

Psalms.”<sup>2</sup> This Greek word is the translation of the Hebrew word *mizmor* which is found in the titles of fifty-seven psalms and signifies a song sung to musical accompaniment. In its etymology the word might refer to any kind of a song, sacred or secular, but in its usage it seems to have been confined to sacred songs or hymns, as it occurs in the Old Testament only in the titles of the psalms.<sup>3</sup> The name for the book in our present Hebrew Bibles is *Sepher Tehillim*, literally, “Book of Praises.” This name can be traced back as far as Origen and Hippolytus (ca. 200 A.D.+). The word “praises” cannot, however, have been used in its strict sense, for the psalms are by no means all of them praises. It was a technical term, as is indicated by the fact that it differs slightly in form from the ordinary word for “praises” in the Old Testament and was again undoubtedly intended to denote specifically religious songs which came to be used in the public worship.<sup>4</sup> Hence our English term “hymn-book” is the most appropriate translation of the Greek word “psalms” or the Hebrew term *Sepher Tehillim*.

The Psalter is accordingly to be studied as a hymn-book. As a hymn-book, there are three qualities which the Psalter is likely to have and which, on closer examination, it is actually found to possess. The first of these it is important to keep in mind in our literary appreciation of its contents; the second and third have a direct bearing on our critical studies, for, unfortunately, they greatly complicate them.

1. As a hymn-book the Psalter is a book of devotional poetry. In such poetry the religious interest is apt to dominate over the artistic interest. A great hymn is not necessarily a great poem. Sincerity rather than imagination, simplicity rather than fancy, are the prime requisites of a great hymn. The one indispensable literary quality for a religious poem, I should say, is dignity, which must be preserved

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Luke 20:42; Acts 1:26. In the Alexandrine manuscript of the LXX the book is called *Psalterion*, the name of the musical instrument being applied to the song which it accompanies.

<sup>3</sup> It is not found in the one secular song in the Psalter (Ps. 45).

<sup>4</sup> The regular plural for “praises” in the Old Testament is *tehilloth*. At Ps. 72:20 the LXX reads “hymns” and the Vulgate *laudes* (i.e., *tehillim*) instead of the “prayers” of the Hebrew. This shows that “praises” were understood in a general sense of religious hymns.

even in the more intimate hymns, in order to prevent them from becoming sentimental. Isaac Watts furnishes us the key to his fame as a hymn-writer in the introduction to his *Hymns and Spiritual Songs*. Here he describes the principles that guided him in his "composures."

The metaphors [he tells us] are generally sunk to the level of vulgar capacities. . . . Some of the beauties of poesy are neglected and some wilfully defaced; I have thrown out the lines that were too sonorous and have given an allay to the verse lest a more exalted turn of thought or language should darken or disturb the devotion of the weakest souls. But hence it comes to pass that I have been forced to lay aside many hymns after they were finished, and utterly exclude them from this volume, because of the bolder figures of speech that crowded themselves into the verse which I could not easily restrain. . . . I confess myself to have been too often tempted away from the more spiritual designs I proposed, by some gay and flowery expression that gratified the fancy; the bright images too often prevailed above the fire of divine affection and the light exceeded the heat. Yet I hope in many of them the reader will find that devotion dictated the song and the head and hand were nothing but interpreters and secretaries to the heart.<sup>5</sup>

This touching sincerity and self-restraint have not been without their reward. As a poet Watts was not a shining success, though perhaps he was as well qualified to be poet-laureate as his contemporary Nahum Tate, the author of the New Version of the Psalms of David. The "politer part of mankind" for whom Watts composed his *Horae Lyricae* have been somehow quite indifferent to these designedly literary effusions. But Watts's hymns have sung their way into the hearts and lives of seven generations of English-speaking Christians and his fame as a hymn-writer is likely to abide. Robertson Nicoll is authority for the statement that Matthew Arnold pronounced "When I survey the wondrous cross" to be the greatest hymn in the English language.<sup>6</sup> In this hymn there are only two distinct metaphors. The first is:

See, from his head, his hands, his feet  
Sorrow and love flow mingled down.

<sup>5</sup> *Works*, IV, 255 ff.

<sup>6</sup> To which I might venture to add the great paraphrase of Ps. 90, "Our God, our help in ages past" as a worthy companion piece.



This is sufficiently simple and obvious. The second is:

His dying crimson like a robe  
Spreads o'er his body on the tree.

Here the robe of the sovereign (the crown had just been alluded to) and the robe of the martyr (crimson, not purple) are subtly woven together in a truly great couplet where one can feel the irrepressible lift of the poetic imagination. But it is interesting to note that this stanza is printed in brackets in Watts's works, and he explains that the parts included in these "crochets" may be left out in singing, as containing "words too poetical for meaner understandings or too particular for whole congregations to sing." In the present instance the "crochets" are undoubtedly a naïve testimony to Watts's own criticism in calmer mood upon the true poetic quality of his metaphor.

With this finest hymn in the English language may be contrasted the popular and undoubtedly beautiful hymn of Dr. Holmes, "Lord of all being, throned afar." Beautiful as it is, I venture to say that Watts would have felt called upon to exclude its bright fancies from his collection, if he had composed it, and the judgment of the "truly serious and pious souls" for whom Watts wrote will at once recognize the superiority of Watts's hymn to that of the American poet. Even the politer part of mankind would probably feel constrained to say "Amen" to this judgment.

This digression is intended to prepare the way for a criticism which Duhm has passed upon the literary value of the Psalms, which may at first, give offense, but which I am persuaded, is substantially correct:

He who reads the collection in the original text, and perceives the dominance of the conventional and the extensive dependence upon older models, must be greatly shaken [viz., in his literary appreciation of the Psalms]. Of the designedly religious psalms many are only versified prose, many only a heaping-up of current phrases.

This is not to deny that some of the most beautiful poetry in Hebrew literature is to be found in the Psalter, but we are not to be disappointed if this Jewish hymn-book, considered as a whole, has no great literary merit. It is primarily devotion, not art. But this is the secret of the popularity of the Psalter, as Duhm again points out, just as it is the secret of the success of Watts's hymns. "The greatest part of



these," Watts admits, "are suited to the general state of the gospel and the most common affairs of Christians." This may be taken as the main purpose which animated the collectors of the Psalter. They evidently sought to collect those hymns which were adapted to express the general level of Jewish religious thought and the needs of the majority of the Jews.<sup>7</sup> In such a collection we are not to look for the gorgeous imagery of the Song of Songs, the daring speculations or wonderful imagination of Job, the winged words of an Isaiah. These qualities may be found in individual psalms, but they will not characterize the collection. But our judgment upon the value of the psalms must not be influenced by the absence of these qualities. The judgment of piety and not of art is the judgment which must finally appraise the psalms. The testimony of religion, not of the Muses, is the competent testimony in this regard.

2. The second characteristic of the Psalter as a hymn-book is of great critical importance to observe. Like all other hymn-books, it has been subjected to repeated and extensive redaction. Reverent Bible students, who might be slow to admit redaction in other parts of the Bible, should be able to admit it in the case of the Psalter without fear, as redaction is a constant phenomenon in this species of literature. The explanation of this is simple. In arranging hymns for public devotion, adaptation is often necessary. There may be some verses in a hymn highly desirable to preserve, others in the same hymn for one reason or another desirable to dispense with. They may express a passing phase of theological thought or religious emotion, or contain an obsolete and therefore misleading expression. Sometimes musical necessities or even lack of space on the page may demand excisions and rearrangements. If the much-despised hymn-tinkerer could not exercise his functions, some very beautiful and precious hymns might have to be abandoned altogether because certain verses could not be adapted to the hymn-compiler's purposes or limitations, and real loss would result. Of course hymn-tinkering would be quite indefensible if a hymn were looked upon as a purely literary product, and if its uses were strictly literary uses. But this is not the case. A hymn-book in this connection should rather be

<sup>7</sup> Some of them may even be classed, so far as their literary merit is concerned with our own gospel hymns (cf. Pss. 86, 78, etc.).

looked upon as a *devotional textbook*, and hymns may be changed on precisely the same principles as a textbook may be changed. Its function is a public function and it may be properly adapted to meet the needs of different times and circumstances. It would probably surprise many who are not familiar with the history of our own hymns to realize how different the current forms of many of them are from their originals. As the subject is important to our discussion, let me illustrate it by a few examples drawn from the history of some of our most famous hymns.<sup>8</sup>

In 1780 "All hail the power of Jesus' name," by E. Perronet, was first published in its complete form. In 1787 Dr. Rippon revised this hymn, and it is this revision that is the basis of the current form of the hymn at present. The italics in Dr. Rippon's revision indicate the variations from the original.

1  
All hail the power of Jesus' name,  
Let angels prostrate fall;  
Bring forth the royal diadem,  
To crown him Lord of all.

2  
Let highborn seraphs tune the lyre,  
And as they tune it fall  
Before his face who tunes their choir,  
And crown him Lord of all.

3  
Crown him ye morning stars of light,  
Who fixed this floating ball;  
Now hail the strength of Israel's might,  
And crown him Lord of all.

4  
Crown him ye martyrs of your God,  
Who from his altar call;  
Extol the stem of Jesse's rod,  
And crown him Lord of all.

5  
Ye seed of Israel's chosen race,  
Ye ransomed from the fall;  
Hail Him Who saves you by His grace,  
And crown him Lord of all.

(1) 1. ANGELS  
All hail the power of Jesus' name,  
Let angels prostrate fall;  
Bring forth the royal diadem,  
*And crown Him Lord of all.*

(4) 2. MARTYRS  
Crown Him ye martyrs of *our* God,  
Who from his altar call;  
Extol the stem of Jesse's rod,  
And crown Him Lord of all.

(5) 3. CONVERTED JEWS  
*Ye chosen seed of Israel's race,*  
*A remnant weak and small;*  
Hail Him who saves you by His grace,  
And crown him Lord of all.

(7) 4. BELIEVING GENTILES  
*Ye Gentile sinners* ne'er forget,  
The wormwood and the gall;  
Go—spread your trophies at His feet,  
And crown Him Lord of all.

5. SINNERS OF EVERY AGE  
*Babes, men and sires who know His love,*  
*Who feel your sin and thrall,*  
*Now join with all the hosts above;*  
*And crown him Lord of all.*

<sup>8</sup> Most of the illustrations that follow are taken from Julian's *Dictionary of Hymnology*.

## 6

Hail him, ye heir of David's line,  
Whom David Lord did call,  
The God incarnate, man divine,  
And crown him Lord of all.

## 7

Sinners whose love can ne'er forget  
The wormwood and the gall,  
Go—spread your trophies at His feet,  
And crown him Lord of all.

## 8

Let every tribe and every tongue,  
That bound creation's call,  
Now shout in universal song,  
The crownéd Lord of all.

## (8) 6. SINNERS OF EVERY NATION

Let every *kindred, every tribe,*  
*On this terrestrial ball,*  
*To Him all majesty ascribe,*  
*And crown Him Lord of all.*

## 7. OURSELVES

*Oh that, with yonder sacred throng*  
*We at his feet may fall;*  
*We'll join the everlasting song,*  
*And crown him Lord of all.*

Observe the attempt at a topical analysis indicated by the interesting titles to each of the stanzas in Rippon's version. For the sake of symmetry the second and third stanzas of the original, which are only an expansion of the first stanza, have been given up, together with the sixth stanza, which is not very obviously adapted to use by a Christian congregation. On the other hand the first two lines of the fifth stanza of the original, which is probably to be understood spiritually of the church in all ages, has been altered to apply only to the Jews (note the second line particularly) for the sake of the topical sequence, and for the same reason "Ye Gentile sinners" has been substituted for "sinners." Stanzas 5 and 7 in Rippon's version have been added, the latter retained in all our present forms of the hymn, and Stanza 8 of the original has been completely recast and bettered in Stanza 6 of Rippon's.

The first four lines of Wesley's great hymn are as follows:

Jesu, Lover of my soul;  
Let me to thy bosom fly,  
While the nearer waters roll,  
While the tempest still is high.

These lines have always given trouble and the result has been "more than twenty different readings."<sup>9</sup> To call Jesus the "Lover of the soul" has seemed to many too sentimental, and hence we have *Jesu Refuge of my soul, Jesus Savior of my soul, Father Refuge of my soul,*

<sup>9</sup> Julian.

etc. Again the *nearer waters* have been perplexing and all sorts of emendations have been used to ease the meaning. Julian cites one revision by Kennedy, 1863, which reads as follows:

Jesus Refuge of the soul,  
To Thy sheltering arms we fly,  
While the raging billows roll,  
While the tempest's roar is high.

In this version there are, according to Julian, "six alterations, each of which was made by a different person and at a different date." Note especially the change to the generalizing *the soul* and to the first plural in order to adapt the verse to public worship. It is interesting to note that in the American Unitarian collection of 1863 the first line has been changed, clearly for dogmatic reasons, to:

Oh Thou Lover of my soul

Conversely the Unitarian hymn "Nearer my God to Thee" has been in its turn revised in the interests of orthodoxy. Witness the doxology attached to it in Skinner's *Hymnal* of 1864 as one of several examples:

Glory, O God to Thee,  
Glory to Thee,  
Almighty Trinity,  
In Unity.  
Glorious Mystery,  
Through all Eternity,  
Glory to Thee.

Another instance of a dogmatic revision is found in the following: The last verse of "A charge to keep I have" originally read:

Help me to watch and pray,  
And on thyself rely;  
Assured if I my trust betray,  
I shall forever die.

This original form is still retained in *The Hymnal* of the Protestant Episcopal Church as adopted in 1871. But in the revision of 1892 the somber knell of the eschatology of the last two lines has been changed into the following joyous peal of positive Christian service:

Steadfast to walk on Christ's dear way,  
And God to glorify.



As instances of changes due to aesthetic interests the following examples may be cited: The second line of the fourth stanza of "Rock of Ages" originally read:

When my eye-strings break in death.

This unpleasantly suggestive line has never found favor and hence we have *When my heart-strings break in death, When my eyelids sink in death, When my eyes shall close in death, and When my eyelids close in death.* In the facsimile of the autograph manuscript of "Abide with me," the last stanza begins "Hold *then* thy cross . . ." and so it appears on a leaflet on which it was first printed in 1847. In the *Remains* of the author printed in 1850 we find *Hold there thy cross.* Finally in a collection of miscellaneous poems of 1868 it appears *Hold thou thy cross.* It is an interesting query how far these three variants, "*then*," "*there*," "*thou*" may be due to copyist's mistakes.

The limitations of space are sometimes responsible for very curious rearrangements of hymns. In one collection I possess I find but four verses of C. Wordsworth's "O Day of rest and gladness," and the four verses are divided into two hymns, though with a note that they may be sung as one. In the same collection only four quatrains are given of "There's a wideness in God's mercy." This hymn of Faber seems to be capable of endless permutations and combinations in the arrangement of its stanzas, which are derived from a poem of some length entitled "Come to Jesus." Occasionally we even find stanzas of different hymns combined. Thus William Burkitt published in 1683 a hymn beginning "Jerusalem, my happy home" in eight stanzas. Stanzas 1, 2, 3, 4, are taken from the famous older hymn on this subject by "F. B. P." (16th or early 17th Century). Stanzas 4 and 5 are taken from Daniel Burgess' "Hymn on the Sabbath Day." Stanza 6 is from Shepherd's *Penitential Cries*, Stanza 7 is from Mason's *Spiritual Songs* (1683). This cento of Burkitt is at the basis of *Jerusalem my happy home* as it appears in many modern collections.

If we turn from these modern instances to the earliest hymns for public worship which we possess, the ancient Sumerian and Babylonian temple hymns, we find the gentle art of hymn-tinkering already in full bloom. Thus Stephen Langdon writes:

The (liturgical) service to Gula (in the Isin liturgy) so well expressed the idea of a public service that it was used in all parts of Babylonia and Assyria. Fragments of the most ancient psalms were worked into it and the fifth tablet made to express the scholastic dogmas of the entire pantheon.<sup>10</sup>

In other words it suffered a dogmatic revision. Similarly the service in use in the famous temple at Nippur was adapted for use in other Babylonian localities.

Now the Psalter as a hymn-book is full of similar redactional phenomena. Some of these are more external and affect only the form of the psalms; some affect their meaning and significance.

There can be no question, for example, that Pss. 42 and 43 were originally one psalm. The struggle after faith in Ps. 42 would remain abortive without the triumphant assurance attained in Ps. 43. The refrain common to both psalms, beginning

Why art thou cast down, Oh my Soul?

binds them together by a formal bond and this is done even more subtly and beautifully by the little links of sadness, 42:3*b* in the first stanza, 42:9*b*, 10*b* in the second stanza, and 43:2*b* in the third stanza.<sup>11</sup> Similarly Pss. 9 and 10 must have been originally one psalm. Ps. 9 is undoubtedly an alphabetical psalm, but it only runs through K. Ps. 10 begins with the next letter, L, and, though much corrupted, the last four letters of the Hebrew alphabet appear at their appropriate places at the end of the psalm. It is clear, therefore, that Ps. 10 must have been the continuation of Ps. 9. In the cases of these two groups of psalms (Pss. 42, 43 and Pss. 9, 10) we have an editorial procedure exactly analogous to the division of "O day of rest and gladness" into two hymns, and with as artificial a result. Conversely, we have instances of composite psalms, two psalms or portions of psalms being combined. Thus Ps. 108:1-5=57:7-11, and 108:6-13=60:5-12. Ps. 40 is a composite psalm; vss. 13-17 on internal grounds could scarcely have belonged to it, as in these verses the

<sup>10</sup> *Sumerian and Babylonian Psalms* (1909), Intro., xii, n. 2, and cf. xviii.

<sup>11</sup> By these links of sadness is beautifully shown how the inner victory of faith is attained in spite of the fact that there is no change in the singer's outward environment. Metrical considerations also suggest that 42:10*b* is to be supplied again after 43:2*b*. If this be done and the suspiciously long line 42:8 be cut down, we will have in the Hebrew three stanzas of nine lines each, with the refrain at the close.

Psalmist prays to be delivered from distress, whereas in vss. 1-5 he gives thanks for a deliverance already experienced. This internal evidence is corroborated by the fact that Ps. 70 is the exact duplicate of the suspicious verses. While there is no external testimony to demonstrate the composite character of Ps. 19, there is general agreement at the present time that it has been compiled out of two independent psalms, a nature psalm and a hymn in praise of the Law. The very beautiful exposition of this psalm by Ruskin,<sup>12</sup> based on the supposition of its unity, can hardly be regarded as a scientifically adequate defense of its unity.

In these cases we have parallels to Burkitt's compilation noticed above. The composite character of some psalms may take even a more exaggerated form. We find some psalms that are hardly more than centos of other psalm passages or passages from the prophets. I give three examples which have especial interest.<sup>13</sup>

A	B	C
97:2, 3, 6; cf. 50:3-6	79:4; cf. { 89:41	86:1; cf. 31:2
4a; cf. 77:18	44:13	2; cf. 25:20
4b; cf. 77:16	5; cf. { 74:1	4b; cf. 25:1
5a; cf. Mic. 1:4	89:46	6a; cf. 55:1a
6a; cf. 50:6	6, 7; cf. Jer. 10:25(!)	6b; cf. { 28:2
8; cf. 48:11	10; cf. { 42:3b	130:2
9; cf. 83:18; 47:2, 9	115:2(!)	7; cf. { 77:2
12a; cf. 32:11a	11; cf. 102:21	17:6
12b; cf. 30:4b	12; cf. 89:50, 51	8; cf. Ex. 15:11
	13; cf. 100:3b	
		11a; cf. { 27:11
		26:3
		11b; cf. Jer. 32:29
		13b; cf. { 56:13
		Dt. 32:22
		14; cf. 54:3
		15; cf. 116:5
		16a; cf. 25:16
		16b; cf. 116:16

The remarkable thing about Ps. 97 is that in spite of the fact that so many of its phrases have been borrowed from other psalms, they

<sup>12</sup> *Modern Painters*, Part VII, chap. iv, sec. 27.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. also Ps. 144 and Jonah, chap. 3.

have been fused together into a really vigorous psalm.<sup>14</sup> The same thing is true of Ps. 79, which is usually considered to have sprung out of the Maccabean crisis. The same thing is not true of Ps. 86, which has very little poetic merit or individuality and yet is a Davidic psalm, according to the title. Again, the texts of the psalms have suffered many changes in the course of their history just as have the texts of our Christian hymns. Many of these are accidental, due to errors in transmission (cf. Lyte's hymn cited above?). Many of them are intentional. We have positive proof that such changes have taken place in the case of the duplicate psalms, Ps. 14=Ps. 53; Ps. 108=Pss. 57 and 60, and most notably of all in Ps. 18=II Sam., chap. 22. In the case of this latter psalm I have made a catalogue of some 108 variations in its 50 verses, or more than two to a verse. Many of these are only changes in the vowel-pointing; many more are undoubtedly instances of text-corruption. But a large number remain which are redactional changes. Take for example the introductory verses to this psalm. The italics mark the variants.

## Ps. 18

Vs. 1. *I love Thee O Jehovah my strength*

Vs. 2. Jehovah is my rock and my fortress and my deliverer;  
 My God, my rock in whom I will take refuge;  
 My shield and the horn of my salvation, my high tower.

## II SAM., CHAP 22

Vs. 2. Jehovah is my rock and my fortress and my deliverer, *even mine.*

Vs. 3. God, my rock, in him will I take refuge,  
 My shield and the horn of my salvation and my high tower, *and my refuge,*  
*My savior, thou savest me from violence.*

Apart from the changes in construction it will be seen that there are various additions in the two recensions. These additions are evidently for the purpose of emphasis. They cannot all have been original, for in that case some of the lines would be metrically altogether too long. Hence various suggestions have been made by modern scholars to combine the two texts into a smoother and more perfectly balanced form. Dr. Briggs suggests the following:

<sup>14</sup> Cf. the Magnificat.



My crag, and my fortress, and my deliverer,  
 My God, my rock in whom I take refuge,  
 My shield and horn of my salvation,  
 My savior, from violence thou savest me.<sup>15</sup>

In Ps. 18:7 we read:

Then the earth shook and trembled,  
 The foundations also of the mountains quaked.

In II Sam. 22:8 we read:

Then the earth shook and trembled  
 The foundations of *heaven* quaked.

Here we have a distinct change of figure. The version of Samuel thinks of the mountains themselves as being the supports of the sky (cf. Job 26:11). The figure is more difficult but also more forcible; the heaven as well as the earth is involved in the mighty cataclysm. Hence Samuel probably has the original reading. The phrase in the psalm may have been a reminiscence of Deut. 32:22, the only place where it again occurs, or it may have originally been an interpretative gloss, which finally displaced the original reading. Compare the substitutions for the difficult "nearer waters" in Wesley's hymn.

Again notice the change in the following:

Ps. 18:47: And subdueth peoples under me.

II Sam. 22:48: And that *bringeth down* peoples under me.

The Hebrew verb in Sam. is a common verb and undoubtedly a substitute for the very difficult form in the psalm which is only found in this one passage in the Old Testament.

A variation of more importance than these purely rhetorical changes is found in the following:

Ps. 18:43: Thou hast delivered me from the strivings of the people;  
 Thou hast made me the head of the nations.

I Sam. 22:44: Thou also hast delivered me from the strivings of *my* people  
 Thou hast *kept me* to be the head of the nations.

The reading "my people" suggests civil war (cf. the implication as to native foes at 18:41 in the cry to Jehovah). The reading "the people" rather suggests foreign foes, especially in connection with

<sup>15</sup> The objection to this reconstruction is that the introductory Jehovah is omitted. This is improbable.

the second line. The LXX read the plural ("the peoples") in both the Vatican and Alexandrine MSS of Sam. and the Alexandrine MS of the psalm. The plural undoubtedly understands the reference to be to foreign peoples. It will be seen at once how important the point raised by these variants is to the historical interpretation of the psalm.

In all the above instances the stylus of the ancient hymn-tinkerer is very obvious. The priestly or Levitical hand may be detected in liturgical additions to some of the psalms. Ps. 34:22 is a clear case. Ps. 34 is an alphabetical psalm. But after the letters have been followed through in order in vss. 1-21, an extra P line is added in vss. 22. This violates the scheme of the poem and hence cannot have been original. It is no doubt a liturgical addition. The same is probably true of Ps. 73:1 which does not belong either to the structure or subject of the psalm. The psalm is a confession of an intensely personal experience. The first verse is intended to adapt it to the more general use of public worship (cf. the changes in Wesley's hymn). Still other glosses are due to a desire to give more definite historical point to a passage. Metrical considerations enable us to detect the gloss at 74:9b: "There is no prophet any more." In the American Revised version it will be seen that all the verses of Ps. 74 but this verse and vs. 2 have only two clauses. The divergence in these two verses is metrically suspicious. Vs. 9b is easily understood as an intrusion intended to explain vs. 9a more carefully. Metrical considerations suggest that vss. 5 and 6 in the same psalm are also glosses. The structure of these verses is pure prose. The parallelism which is the great principle of Hebrew poetry is absent. In these two verses alone in this psalm a punctuation mark is wanting after the first clauses and correctly wanting.

But the revision of the psalms is often of a more far-reaching character than in the case of the above illustrations and reflects varying theological opinion (cf. the Unitarian revision of "Jesus lover of my soul" and the orthodox revision of "Nearer my God to thee," cited above).

To begin again with the obvious and unquestionable cases, there is a whole group of psalms (*vid. infra*) in which the name Elohim (God) has been substituted for Jehovah. Of this fact we have

positive proof in the duplicates: Ps. 14=Ps. 53. The former uses Jehovah (*Lord* in A.V.), the latter Elohim. This change is due to theological considerations. In the post-exilic period the tendency arose to think more abstractly of God. The daring anthropomorphisms of the earlier period were avoided. God was the "God of heaven" (cf. the frequency of this name in Ezra and Nehemiah). Again with the break-up of the Jewish nation at the Exile, the old nationalistic religion tended to become universalized. Jehovah as the personal name of a national God was not adapted to these new religious ideas and hence the abstract *Elohim* came into use.<sup>16</sup> Accordingly, certain psalms which originally spoke of Jehovah suffered an Elohim revision. In addition to the duplicate psalms already cited in proof of this, Ps. 45 may also be adduced, as it illustrates at the same time how valuable the supposition of redaction may become for exegesis. This is an Elohim Psalm. Its position in the Psalter, however, suggests that it was probably originally a Jehovah psalm redacted. Bearing this in mind let us turn to the sixth verse:

Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever.

This has always given difficulty. The psalm is addressed throughout to a human king (cf. vss. 9 ff., which refer to his marriage). The margin of the American Revision ("Thy throne is the throne of God") attempts to relieve the difficulty at the expense of all grammatical probability. Suppose, now, we substitute Jehovah for God. The difficulty still remains. But Jehovah in Hebrew looks almost exactly like the Hebrew verb "shall be" (יְהוֹה = Jehovah; יִהְיֶה = shall be). The key to the difficulty is at once clear. The line originally read:

Thy throne *shall be* for ever and ever.

Whether through accident or intention, Jehovah became substituted for "shall be" and finally Elohim (God) for Jehovah. This reading passed over into the Septuagint and from there into the Epistle to the Hebrews 1:8, and so has come to play a part in Christology

<sup>16</sup> In the LXX "Lord" was usually substituted for Jehovah, whence it passed in time into the Authorized Version. The American Revised Version has reinstated Jehovah. This makes the Old Testament historically more accurate, but less serviceable for a book of devotion. The generalized "Lord" is more appropriate to public worship in a Christian Church than the nationalistic name Jehovah.



(cf. Justin, *Dial.*, 56, 63; Iren., *Con Haer.*, III, 6). An interesting illustration of a dogmatic gloss is probably to be found at Ps. 73:17-20. The theory of the fate of the wicked advanced in these verses is the theory of Job's friends and is quite out of keeping with the profound spirituality of the rest of the psalm. If these verses are eliminated, the "for" of vs. 21, which can only with difficulty be attached to vss. 17-20, will be found to take up the thought of vs. 16, the poetic structure of the psalm will be improved, and its spiritual significance distinctly increased.<sup>17</sup>

The above examples illustrate the influences to which all the psalms at one time or another have been exposed. We may therefore be morally certain that, just as our own hymns have been revised to an almost endless degree, so many of the psalms have been revised until they are as completely transformed from their originals as "All hail the power of Jesus' name" in its current form is from its original. Whether the originals can be recovered with any certainty it is not my purpose at present to discuss, but the importance of the assumption of redaction in determining the date and significance of the psalms is obvious. Take for example the two glosses noted above in Ps. 74. The consciousness of the absence of prophecy in one of these glosses was one of the striking characteristics of the Maccabean period (cf. I Macc. 9:27; 4:46; 14:41.) Again the mutilations described in the other gloss, where quite possibly "doors" should be read instead of "carved work," quite strongly suggest the mutilation of the temple gates at I Macc. 4:38. If these references are original, they make strongly in favor of the Maccabean origin of this psalm when taken in connection with other phenomena. Dr. Briggs has however recently sought to vindicate a much earlier date for Ps. 74 by the supposition that the present form has been very thoroughly revised and adapted to Maccabean conditions. An even more notable and important case is that of Ps. 18. Is this psalm by David as its title assumes? But few scholars at the present time are hardy enough to claim Davidic authorship for it in its present form. The defenders of the authenticity of the psalm usually do so only on the assumption of extensive later accretions. Reserving the discussion of this difficult question till a later date, I would only point

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Briggs, *ad loc.*



out that while the psalm appears to be the utterance of an individual, real or ideal, a community interest peeps through at vs. 27, which suggests that here, at least, it has been revised for public worship (cf. Kennedy's revision of "Jesus lover of my soul"). The preceding examples, taken almost at random, prove that our expectations of redaction in this ancient Jewish hymn-book are amply justified. The last paragraph has also shown that this fact of redaction complicates amazingly the problem of criticism. Before the dates of the psalms can be determined, their original forms must be discovered.

3. The third peculiarity of the Psalter as a hymn-book will be discussed in the next article.

## THE TEACHING OF JESUS IN THE TEMPLE<sup>1</sup>

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The Temple occupied a place of importance in the career of Jesus. His parents presented him, when a babe, to God within its courts. At the age of twelve years we find him in the Temple, the prophet-light on his face, as he heard and questioned the rabbis. The Temple was to him "My Father's house." Many times in subsequent years he had gone thither, although we never read of sacrifice or ceremonial on his part. The years showed him that the Temple was in many ways the center of ecclesiastical oppression, yet he was not hostile to the place. It was to him at the close of his ministry ideally "a house of prayer." The prophetic rather than the priestly aspect of the temple appealed to Jesus. He taught the people there.

Tuesday of Passion Week marked the final break of Jesus with the Jewish leaders. Their opposition to him had steadily deepened for months, but now it reached its climax. On the previous day Jesus had driven the hucksters from the court of the Gentiles. The sale of sacrificial animals and the exchange of miscellaneous coin for the half-shekel, which paid the tax for the maintenance of the sanctuary was, doubtless, a monopoly which brought rich returns to the Sadducean masters of the Temple. Attack upon privilege is the path to the cross. Jesus was crucified because he attacked vested rights which were vested wrongs. There is no peril in fighting Carlyle's "extinct Satans"; it is the real, contemporary ones that strike back. The Sadducean authorities determined to destroy Jesus. He was not ignorant of their plot against his life and he foresaw its success. However prudential reasons had controlled him hitherto, he now cast them to the winds and freely uttered irreparable denunciation and urgent appeal.

The day begins with the challenge concerning the authority of

<sup>1</sup>This study covers the International Uniform Sunday-school Lessons for September 4, 11, and 18.

Jesus. What right had he to assume jurisdiction in the Temple? Jesus answered with a counter-question with respect to the authority of John the Baptist: Was it from heaven or from men? It was a dilemma, whose horns were both sharp—acceptance of John's witness to Jesus or loss of the favor of the people who esteemed John a prophet. The only escape from impalement was undignified flight. Accordingly they made the evasive reply, "We cannot tell." Behind the query of Jesus was a profoundly spiritual conception of authority in religion. John the Baptist performed no miracles, nor did he ever receive rabbinic ordination. His authority inhered in the moral content of his character and of his message. He was the appropriate forerunner of him who asserted that he would give his generation no sign save the sign of the prophet Jonah, a moral message instinct with the life of God.

In three parables, grouped by Matthew, Jesus sets forth the real character of the opposition to himself. These parables are the Two Sons, the Wicked Husbandmen, and the King's Marriage-Feast. All are parables of warning. In the use of parables Jesus was master. Parable was a favorite method of putting truth in Jesus' day. Some of the parables spoken in the Temple have their parallels in Jewish literature. The Book of Jubilees has a parable about wicked husbandmen, and in the Talmud are three parables similar to the parable of the wedding-feast and the wedding-garment. The point in each of Jesus' parables was obvious. Sadducees and Pharisees perceived that he spake of them.

The parable of the Two Sons arraigns the Jewish leaders for insincerity. Their professions and their deeds do not tally. They say and do not. They are unfavorably contrasted with the disreputable social classes. A father in tender words bids his two sons go work in the vineyard. The marginal reading for "son" is "child," the word *teknon* has in it an element of endearment. God asks only that which is kind and good. The first son to whom he speaks frankly refuses, but later he repents his reply and goes to work. The other son glibly promises obedience, but he never enters the vineyard. The scribes and priests readily acknowledge that the first son alone did the father's will. Jesus plainly tells the point of the parable. "The publicans and harlots go into the Kingdom of God before you."

They heeded the divine summons, whereas the religious classes gave no heed.

The first son was the publicans and harlots. Their manner of life had been a refusal of the service of God. But, at least, they were men and women of action. They possessed virgin wills. And the will is the citadel of personality. The second son was the Jewish leaders. They were glib in promises. But their lives were superficial and their intentions came to naught. According to sturdy Samuel Johnson, hell itself is paved with good intentions. Perhaps we ought to call this parable the parable of the Man with an Infirm Will. Jesus certainly lays bare the most fatal disease in the realm of character, a flabby and unresponsive will. But correct opinions are not a substitute for right living; theology, for religion. The path of such a man is strewn with broken vows and unfulfilled promises, but he never gets anything done.

In no other respect did Jesus so offend the respectability of his time as in his estimate of the relative sinfulness of sins. He was far from any palliation of sins of frailty, but it is plain that he adjudged them less fatal to character than are the sins of disposition. Upon the hard and loveless Pharisee Jesus outpoured his wrath. Recovery from fever is less difficult than recovery from paralysis. The great moralists of the ages agree with Jesus. Dante places sinners in the concentric circles of the *Inferno* according to their relative sinfulness. In one of the uppermost circles are carnal sinners, while in the nethermost place is Judas, whose sin is pride. Pride is isolation, and isolation is death; in fellowship alone is life.

The parable of the Wicked Husbandmen is found in all the Synoptic Gospels. It exposes the hypocrisy of the leaders of the nation and foretells their doom. The obvious meaning of the parable is in the words which are found only in Matthew, "The Kingdom of God shall be taken from you and given to a nation bringing forth the fruits thereof."

The vineyard is a type of Israel upon many pages of the Old Testament. Perhaps the most conspicuous use of the figure is in the song which is found in the fifth chapter of Isaiah. Of the vineyard which Jesus describes the question can also be asked, "What could have been done more to my vineyard that I have not done in it?"



Relative to the conditions of the universal moral order God does his utmost for every nation and for every man; to believe less is denial of his perfect love. About the vineyard the owner planted a hedge, possibly the wild aloe, so common in the East. He dug a winepress; literally dug it in the solid rock. Travelers sometimes see a series of connected excavations in the rocky hillside which serve as vats for the wine. He built a tower. Sometimes a mere booth or hut sufficed for the watchman, sometimes a more permanent structure was erected which served also as a storehouse. There were three ways in which rental upon land was paid—in money, in a fixed proportion of the fruit, in a definite amount of fruit irrespective of the total yield. The last way is doubtless the one implied in the parable. God expected spiritual fruitage from Israel, a people for whom so much was done. To do justly, to love kindness, and to walk humbly with God, these, according to Micah, are the divine requirements. Large investments justify the expectation of commensurate results.

The husbandmen, however, meet the demands of the owner's servants with violence. It was thus the long succession of prophets were treated. The people stoned them, then whitened their sepulchers. The owner at last made his ultimate appeal; he sent his son. Mark tells us that he was an only son, a beloved son. But the husbandmen, made presumptuous by the goodness which ought to have led them to repentance, seized the son and slew him. It is plain that Jesus understood the fate which awaited him. When he set his face sternly to go to Jerusalem the last time it was with the certainty that the irrepressible conflict between himself and the ecclesiastical authorities would end in a violent death. The parable is witness to the peculiar dignity which Jesus claimed for himself. He was not one servant more sent by God to Israel, he was a son, only and beloved. He does not classify himself with the prophets. The Johannine and the Pauline Christologies are germinal in some of the sayings of the Synoptic Gospels. He was first-born among many brethren and he was the only begotten son. Difference in degree may be so great as to constitute a difference in kind. Jesus is not merely first, but only.

The punishment visited upon the wicked husbandmen was justly severe. In tragic ways the words of Jesus were fulfilled. The armies

of Titus, a few years later, destroyed the Jewish state. And the spiritual primacy of the race passed to the gentile peoples who embraced Christianity. It is they who are carrying the knowledge of the true God to the backward races. The Kingdom of God, as a pre-eminent possession, has been taken from Israel and has been given to other nations. Jesus, the rejected stone, has been made the corner-stone in the temple of human life. The passage in the Psalms referring to the discarded stone which was later accorded such signal honor, was evidently very familiar. Have ye not read "even" this scripture? Naught can displace the stone, it will break all who fall upon it, it will scatter as dust those upon whom it falls. The spirit of Jesus is ever the central, irremovable, glorious fact.

The fate of the despisers of grace is the lesson of the parable of the king's Marriage-Feast. It has some striking similarities to the parable of the Great Supper recorded in the fourteenth chapter of Luke. The parables, however, are distinct; one is a parable of grace, the other a parable of judgment. The parable recorded by Matthew is apparently a double one; the story of the Wedding-Garment is combined with the story of the Marriage-Feast. The same lesson is enforced throughout but with a twofold application—grace despised by those without and grace despised by those within.

A feast is a favorite simile of Jesus in presenting the Kingdom of God. It appropriately expresses the satisfaction, fellowship, and joy of the Kingdom. Religion is not negation, deprivation, subtraction; it is wholeness of life, conquest, multiplication. Its master word is not "surrender" but "consecration." The meek inherit, not heaven only, but the earth. In the parable it is "the called" who are invited. According to eastern etiquette there was first a preliminary invitation, then later a definite announcement of the readiness of the feast. To an Arabian the refusal of the second invitation was a deadly insult, tantamount to a declaration of war. We understand more clearly the severity of the King's punishment when we recognize that the declination of his invitation was equivalent to treason. The called are none other than the Jews. By the lips of the prophets God had given them preliminary invitation into his Kingdom. But they would not come. Then "other servants" came, Jesus and the apostles, with the final, joyous summons to the better era.

The invitation was rejected. The mass of the nation, preoccupied with business cares, gave no heed. By their indifference they made light of it. The invitation had been accompanied, at the King's command, by emphasis upon the attractions of the feast. The servants were bidden not only to invite men but to state the ample provisions which had been made for their happiness. But the invitation was scorned. On the part of some there was open hostility. The servants of the king were shamefully treated and some of them were killed. The Acts of the Apostles, with its record of persecutions and martyrdoms, attests the truth of Jesus' words. The vengeance of the king is expressed in oriental terms. There is incalculable loss and suffering in disobedience to God, in rejection of the gospel of Jesus.

But the feast did not lack attendants. The king sent his servants to "the outlets of the ways" to invite all whom they found. The spacious phrase refers to outcast Israel and to the pagan populations. They, at least, respond and the festal hall is full. When the king comes in he finds a guest without a wedding-garment. It has been affirmed that it was customary for the host to provide robes for his guests, as eastern kings provide kaftans today. But whether this guest neglected the royal robe or simply omitted to don appropriate clothing at home matters not. His slovenly dress showed slight appreciation of the feast, it evinced disrespect for the host. Rude, raw, uncultured—such was much of the material from which the earliest citizens of the Kingdom were made. Paul's letters to the Corinthians, with their disclosure of the character of some of the members of the church, is commentary upon the man without a wedding-garment. Our responsibility does not end when we accept Christ; we must live worthily. And sins of thoughtlessness, inappreciation, are not light sins. One guest, inappropriately clad, alone is mentioned. But he represents a class. Many are called but few are chosen. In the aggregate there are a multitude who apparently accept the divine invitation and then prove unworthy.

Jesus in the Temple not only utters three parables of warning, he answers three questions propounded by his foes. It was their policy to discredit him with the people. His popularity was most evident; the crowds had acclaimed him the son of David, acclamation in which



even the choir boys of the Temple had joined. Jerusalem, with its hundreds of thousands of pilgrims, was a powder magazine at Passover time. The temple clique dared not publicly arrest Jesus. It was necessary first to make him ridiculous and then to destroy him. Three parties were interested in his overthrow—the Herodians, Sadducees, Pharisees. They hated each other heartily but they made common cause against Jesus.

The first question related to the capitation tax to Caesar. Judea, unlike Galilee, was directly subject to Rome. Among other taxes was a tax of a denarius, a “penny,” per capita. This Roman silver coin was worth in our coinage about seventeen cents, the day’s pay of a Roman soldier in the days of Jesus. The Jews disliked to handle Roman coins, not only because of their restiveness under the Roman yoke but also because the coins with effigy of the emperor’s head upon them seemed a violation of the commandment concerning graven images. According to Mark, Jesus bade them “fetch” a penny; evidently they had none of the hated coins in their possession. The questioners tried to conceal their sinister motives. They sent some of their disciples with the apparently sincere question, was it right to pay the tax to Caesar? If Jesus said No, then the Roman authorities would punish him for treasonable utterance; if he said Yes, then patriotic Jews would repudiate him.

The reply of Jesus recognized their duplicity. Matthew tells us that he termed them “hypocrites.” They expected a categorical Yes or No. But such a reply seldom does justice to a man’s opinions. It commits him to whole systems and programs and does not make proper distinctions. Jesus refused to receive a party label. “Render therefore unto Caesar,” said he, “the things that are Caesar’s; and unto God the things that are God’s.” The reply gave the enemies of Jesus no serious advantage over him, but it pleased none of the parties. It was, nevertheless, no mere evasion or platitude. It is the statement of a great principle universally applicable. Jesus certainly accepts the validity of political government. He was no gentle anarchist, no impracticable theocrat. The use of Caesar’s coins argued obligation to Caesar. If Caesar enables us to exchange goods, protects us, makes it possible for us to perform our communal tasks, then we owe something to Caesar and we ought to pay it.



But the obligation to Caesar is conditioned by our obligation to God. If there is conflict between what should be rendered to God and what is demanded by Caesar there is indeed but one decision possible. It was expressed by the intrepid apostles in the words, "We ought to obey God rather than men." The State, capital "S," is divine; the powers that be are ordained of God. But the state, small "s," is very human. In order to displace the actual state by a state more nearly approaching the ideal state, revolution as a last resort is sometimes justifiable. But as a rule evolution, rather than revolution, is the better way. The germinal elements of the new order lie at the heart of the old; Christians have ever been loyal citizens, but their gospel is a social ferment which makes changes inevitable.

Then the Sadducees came with their question. They were the rationalists, the materialists of their day, deniers of the reality of spirit and of immortality. They were few in number but they were dominant in temple affairs. Their denials were a reaction from the crass doctrines of Pharisaism. According to the Pharisees, the resurrection was practically a return to present physical conditions. This doctrine grew out of their earthly conception of the Kingdom; only by a resuscitation of their bodies could pious Israelites who had died prior to the establishment of the Kingdom share in its glories. As a caricature of the Pharisaic doctrine, the Sadducees had a coarse, stock-in-trade quibble based on levirate, brother-in-law, marriage. "Whose wife shall she be?" they triumphantly asked with respect to the septenary bride.

On their premises the question was unanswerable. But Jesus denied their premises. They erred through ignorance alike of the implications of Scripture and of the power of God. Conditions in the future life are radically different from the present life, even though essential continuity is unbroken. Physical relationships no longer obtain: marriage ideally is a sacrament of the spirit. The Pharisee believed in physical reanimation, the Platonist believed in disembodied immortality, the Christian believes in resurrection. The spirit will have an instrument of its activities there as the present body is its instrument here.

Why did Jesus believe in the risen, immortal life? "God is God of the living." Centuries after their death, God calls himself, in

the present tense, the God of Abraham, of Isaac, of Jacob. Then it must be that somehow, somewhere, they are living still. And, according to Jesus, this fact is proof of their resurrection, however apocalypse may picture resurrection in terms of dramatic futurity. Whoever has the capacity of friendship with God possesses such inherent worth that he cannot die. God cannot take us up into friendship with himself and then drop us into nothingness. The basis of faith in immortality is our sense of the dignity of human nature. Man's marvelous endowments, his limitless capacity for progress, his inalienable individuality, these vindicate the immortal hope. The measure of our hope is, therefore, our sense of the value of man. An utterly bad man, if such there be, cannot believe in immortality; he has no inner worthfulness as a basis of hope. We are sure of immortality in proportion as we share in the character of Him who died with the words of indomitable confidence on his lips, "Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit."

The third question emanated from the Pharisees. It was a thoroughly characteristic question: "Which is the great commandment in the law?" The phrase signifies really, "Of what sort is the great commandment?" What class of commandments is in the first rank? Various answers were given to this question. Some said the ceremonial law was more important than the moral; the former was something due to God, the latter was due merely to man. It was even said that the rule with respect to the fringe on the garment was the supreme commandment. The rabbis stated there were 248 affirmative precepts, the number of the members of the human body, and 365 negative precepts, the number of days in the year; in all there were 613 precepts, the number of letters in the decalogue. Such refinements were worthy of men who made God a glorified rabbi and who said that the Most High studied the law three hours a day and kept its rules.

The reply of Jesus, the customary reply of the rabbis, is the noblest summary of human duty ever enunciated. It is in reality two quotations from the Old Testament (Deut. 6:5 and Lev. 19:18). The former quotation was repeated by pious Jews twice a day. Jesus adds the great generalization that love sums up both law and prophets. Augustine echoed this teaching with respect to the ade-

quacy of love in the words, "Love and do what thou wilt." The primary duty is love to God. He is more than the objectification of the Me; He is embodiment of all excellence, infinitely lovable. With heart, soul, mind, phrase is piled on phrase that the duty of love to God may receive supreme emphasis. The last term "mind" is a modification of the Deuteronomic phrases. Jesus introduces it, and therein is his estimate of the importance of the intellectual element in religion. Our love to God is not perfect, no matter how glowing it may be, until the mind is satisfied and enraptured with the harmonies of divine truth. The second commandment is second in vital, as well as in numerical, sequence. The way to love man is to realize God. Mark tells us of the scribe who spoke in approval of the exaltation of inward character over outward observances. It was this scribe whom Jesus declared not far from the Kingdom of God.

The three questions were answered, answered so keenly that no more were asked by the enemies of Jesus. But he determined to take the offensive. He attacked the current political conception of Messiahship. To his query with respect to the sonship of Messiah, they gave ready answer, "The son of David." In their minds David was a political king, Messiah would be the same, a deliverer of the Jewish nation from political oppression. But Jesus thought of Messiah as king in a wider, nobler sense, a king who delivers from sin and regenerates humanity. He therefore quotes from Ps. 110, which everyone ascribed to David, the words in which David acclaims Messiah as "My Lord." Manifestly, Messiah is more than earthly king if David gives him such title. The question of the authorship of the psalm has been much discussed. Its Davidic origin is denied by many scholars. Various positions are taken with respect to it. It is said that the words of Jesus certify its Davidic origin; he was master not only in religion but also in literary and historical criticism. On the other hand it is said that his words are an accommodation to his hearers' ideas, an argument from their premises. Further the assertion is made that we have here an evidence of the limitation of knowledge of Jesus as a man of his time. The suggestion is also advanced that the original author introduces David as the speaker of the words Jesus quotes, words veritably spoken by David.

The question of Jesus was never answered. The Pharisees had



been defeated in their own dialectics. They, not Jesus, had been humiliated in the eyes of the public. The day of questions was ended; henceforth they fought him with other and darker weapons forged by wounded vanity and boundless hate. Matthew records at length a discourse in which Jesus in words of flame denounces the ecclesiastical authorities. It is not an indictment of the Jewish people nor assuredly of many devout religious teachers. It pillories the legalistic, fanatical ecclesiastics then dominant, especially at Jerusalem, in temple affairs. And even so the discourse ends in words of passionate grief over the approaching doom of a city which was the center of such illimitable love and hope. John records a visit of certain Greeks to Jesus in the Temple and the words wherein Jesus declared that only through sacrifice could he win universal empire. As Jesus leaves the sacred precincts he notes the gifts which the people placed in the trumpet-shaped receptacles. More than the munificent gifts of many who were rich was the gift of a poor widow, who cast in two mites, the smallest of coins, but it was all her living. With this recognition of the loveliness of a pure, quiet, and generous heart Jesus left the Temple forever.



## Exploration and Discovery

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### THE FREER MANUSCRIPTS OF DEUTERONOMY-JOSHUA

Two years and a half have passed since Mr. Freer's acquisition of Greek manuscripts of Deut.-Josh., Psalms, the Gospels, and the Pauline epistles was announced at the University of Chicago, December 30, 1907. In the following February, the first authoritative account of the manuscripts, from the pen of Professor Henry A. Sanders, appeared in the *Biblical World*. Since that time Professor Sanders has been steadily at work upon the manuscripts, and he now publishes a collation of the Deut.-Josh. manuscript together with full introductions dealing with its paleography, contents, and type of text. Simultaneously with Professor Sanders' extended monograph a facsimile edition of the Deut.-Josh. manuscript has been published, and, through the liberality of Mr. Freer, copies have been presented to leading libraries at home and abroad.

The manuscript itself, we are told, is, with the other three, to be presented to the Smithsonian Institution, for the people of the United States. Scholars will be quick to express their appreciation of the beautiful facsimile edition so generously distributed among the leading American and continental libraries. American scholarship in particular will find satisfaction in the bringing of this noble manuscript to this country, in its presentation to the nation, and in its publication and distribution in this most desirable of all forms. Too much can hardly be said in recognition of Mr. Freer's wise and tactful generosity in purchasing and publishing this manuscript, and in presenting it to the nation.

We are less confident of the propriety of naming the collection the Washington Manuscripts, but here, as often elsewhere, we must defer to the judgment of the donor and the editor of them. Yet many will still prefer to call them the Freer Manuscripts notwithstanding Mr. Freer's reluctance to permit his name to be attached to them. The symbol © has been agreed upon for the manuscript by the Cambridge editors of the Octateuch, Messrs. Brooke and McLean.

It is unfortunate that the exact body of text each page preserves is not indicated by chapter and verse at the bottom of each page of the facsimile, as in the facsimiles of Sarravianus, Bezae, the Heidelberg

prophets, the new Alexandrinus, etc. Indeed, it is a long time since a biblical manuscript facsimile has appeared without such references on every page. A finding list is, it is true, included in the preface to the facsimile, but it hardly makes up for this purely mechanical omission, which will, we fear, needlessly embarrass the consultation of this splendid edition.

It is a matter of regret that Dr. Sanders has not begun with his gospel manuscript, which gives promise of so much greater importance than the others. In dealing with the Deut.-Josh., however, he has shown characteristic patience and thoroughness. He has taken counsel, too, with numerous scholars, and their service is generously acknowledged. His monograph, *The Washington Manuscript of Deuteronomy and Joshua* (Macmillan, 1910), includes three admirable facsimile pages of the manuscript, which add much to its value and interest. It may be wondered whether in arrangement and proportion Dr. Sanders' treatment might not have been more convenient, comprehensive, and compact. The discussion of provenance might have been more critical and constructive, and the chapter on contents might have begun with a concise statement of what the manuscript contains. We miss a concise technical description of the make and contents of the manuscript. The textual discussion begins with Dr. Sanders' hexaplaric theory, which afterward proves to have no place in his charts of the manuscript's affinities. Reference to the monograph will, however, be made easy when the volume is completed by the companion monograph on the Psalter, and the whole is suitably indexed.

From the view now generally held that the Freer manuscripts, like the Berlin ones, came from the White Convent (Deir Abyad) near Akhmîm, Professor Sanders continues to dissent, though without offering any very specific reasons, or suggesting any alternative source. He continues to connect the Freer Gospels with a church of Timotheus, in the mediaeval Convent of the Vinedresser; a position rather precariously based on the corrected form of the subscription at the end of the Gospels manuscript. In speaking of the manuscript of Paul's epistles as the latest of the manuscripts, and assigning it to the fifth or sixth century, Professor Sanders seems to lose sight of the concluding quire of the Psalter, which Mr. Kenyon, with much probability, refers to the eighth or ninth. Indeed, it may be doubted whether Dr. Sanders is not too early in assigning the Deut.-Josh. manuscript to the fifth century, and preferably to the first half of it. It still seems to the present writer nearer to the sixth (?) century Homer palimpsest (Brit. Mus.

Ad. 17210) than it is to the Berlin P. 6794 or the Ephrem Codex; an impression which a study of the facsimile edition decidedly confirms.

The margins of the Deuteronomy exhibit occasional markings, of three different kinds. There are first the usual lectionary marks ἀρχ(ή) and τέλ(ος) or τέ(λος), each occurring twice. There are also, in the side margins, two occurrences of the sign ϛ — Χριστός or χρηστόν. Finally, a hook-shaped mark (J) occurs forty-six times, always at the left of the column of text. All these signs Professor Sanders interprets as lectionary, that is, as marking church lessons.

Of these lectionary marks found by Professor Sanders in the margins of his Deuteronomy, those marking lections in chaps. 1 (vss. 8-17) and 10 (vss. 14-21) (ἀρχή and τέλος) will be at once accepted. These two lections are marked in the usual way, and they are the only lections from Deuteronomy which still stand in the service of the Greek church, both being read on January 30, July 13, and December 18.<sup>1</sup> A portion of these is also read on the seventh Sunday after Easter (usually in May) in honor of the holy fathers of the synod of Nicaea. Of these facts I am informed by my friend Mr. Martin Sprengling, to whose wide acquaintance with Greek lectionaries and other manuscripts I am much indebted. Professor Sanders has noted the appearance of these two lessons in a Paris lectionary (MS grec 243, Bibl. Nat.; A.D. 1133) as readings "belonging to the service in honor of the *τιῆς ἁγίων πατέρων* (the Holy Fathers of the IV Council) on the 16th of July" (p. 28). Dr. Sanders has not quite understood the statement of the Paris lectionary. It is of course plain that the 318 fathers cannot be those of the IV council (Chalcedon), but are those of the I (Nicaea), and that is what the Paris lectionary really says. It is here giving (foll. 207 vo, 208 ro) the three Old Testament lessons for July 16 in commemoration of the holy fathers of the IV council (Chalcedon): Μη(νί) ιουλίου ις τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων τῆς δ̄ συνόδου: Ἐν τῇ μεγ(άλῃ) ἐκκλη(σίᾳ) εἰς τὸ λυχνικόν τὴν εἴσοδ(ον). After designating the three lessons by their opening and closing words, the lectionary indicates where they may be found written out in full: προεγράφη δὲ ταῦτα τὰ ἀναγνώσματα τῇ παραμο(νῇ) τῶν ἁγίων τιῆς ἁγίων πατέρων τῶν ἐν Νικαίᾳ· καὶ ἐκεῖ ζητ(εῖσθω). That is, these same readings were read on another, earlier, day, in honor of the 318 Nicene fathers. Thus the Paris lectionary by no means confuses the Nicene fathers with the Chalcedonian. The occurrence of the expression εἰς τὸ λυχνικόν in this lectionary is an interesting parallel to the late note at the head of Plate II: ϛ εἰς τὴν μνήμην

<sup>1</sup> These dates vary slightly with the Church calendar.



τῶν ἀγίων πατέρων εἰς τὸ λυχνηκόν. Dr. Sanders refers this note to the end of the sixth or the beginning of the seventh century, and certainly there is some papyrus evidence for so early a date; e.g., Oxyrhynchus P. 162 (=942), which Grenfell and Hunt refer to the sixth or seventh century. This lesson is still read, with Deut. 1:8-17, on July 13, in honor of the 640 fathers of Chalcedon, and to that commemoration, or one in honor of the 318 fathers of Nicaea, this marginal note probably refers.

The mark ₪ which stands opposite Deut. 18:15 and 20:1 (hardly 19:21 as Dr. Sanders states) is interpreted as a lectionary sign, marking the beginning and ending of a lesson. Yet it is strange to use the same sign for both purposes; it is not easy to connect its second occurrence with the end of a lesson, since it stands squarely opposite the beginning of 20:1, not the end of 19:21; nor is this by itself a usual lectionary sign. Further, the long passage (29 verses) that these marks inclose is unknown to the lectionaries. It seems more probable that these marks have only their usual force of χρ(ηστόν), marking each passage as, in the annotator's opinion, profitable. In this connection Dr. Sanders refers to Origen, I Sam. Hom. III, as stating that "an Old Testament lesson was too long to be read at a single sitting" (p. 29). As a matter of fact, but two of Origen's homilies on Samuel-Kings seem to be extant. Nor would the present passage (Deut. 18:15-20:1), if it were a lesson, require such a testimony, for it could be read in five minutes' time. Professor Sanders' remark and reference are doubtless based on Swete's statement (*Introduction*, 357) that in the homily "on the Witch of Endor (in I Sam. Hom. III) Origen complains that the O. T. lesson for the day was too long to be expounded at a single sitting." This is quite a different matter. Moreover, it is not at all certain that a definitely fixed church lesson is here intended by Origen. The reference given is misleading; for Migne's edition (cited by Swete, p. 429) it should be I Sam. Hom. II; and Klostermann makes it Hom. I.

The 46 interesting marks (J) which another hand has scattered through the margins of Deuteronomy are also interpreted by Dr. Sanders as marking a series of lections. It must be owned that the evidence for this is not very convincing. The signs being alike, the reader could not tell whether a given sign marked the beginning or the end of his lection; nor indeed can Dr. Sanders. The signs are not happily placed for lections: The first reading would have to begin in the middle of what is in the English Bible a parenthesis. Some of them end in the midst of a sentence; some are not two verses in length; for one Dr.



Sanders can find no ending. Moreover, there is really no substantial support for these supposed lections in other lection systems; the partial and scattered coincidences Dr. Sanders cites are insufficient, and these supposed lections clash (in 10:17-19) with one of the manuscript's undoubted lections, 10:14-21. In view of the further fact that these marks are unknown as lectionary signs, it seems impossible to accept Dr. Sanders' ingenious explanation of them. It is altogether more likely that they indicate passages which the writer who made them found interesting, textually or otherwise, and to which he might wish to return. While no single principle of selection seems to have governed the scribe's marking of them, it is a striking fact that many of these passages are quoted or referred to in the New Testament or the Psalms—the parts of the Bible then as now most generally familiar. Others are perhaps noted as merely curious. It seems more than a coincidence that in so many cases the passages marked fall into groups of two or more, as though parallels within the book of Deuteronomy itself were being indicated. In form the mark may be related to the *paragraphus*; a mark somewhat similar, but angular, stands occasionally, usually at top or bottom of the column, in the margins of Alexandrinus, and it is not impossible that our annotator occasionally used this hook to mark what he felt should be a paragraph.

The textual affinities of the manuscript are discussed by Dr. Sanders at some length. These seem to him to be different in the two books concerned. In Deuteronomy the new uncial stands nearest to A and F, B being the next of kin; in Joshua, it has most in common with A, B and F being less directly related to it. Dr. Sanders devotes much attention to the relations of his manuscript to Origen's Hexapla, which he, in despite of ancient custom, prefers to call the Hexaplar. It is difficult to weigh the readings which Dr. Sanders identifies as Hexaplaric, as most of them are not supported by Field's edition, although that is the standard Dr. Sanders proposes (p. 33) to employ. It is evident that he has supplemented Field with other witnesses reported in the Holmes-Parsons edition, but upon just what principle it is not easy to understand. Students of the Freer manuscripts would have been helped by a fuller statement as to Dr. Sanders' own method. As it is, the Hexaplaric elements which Professor Sanders seeks to establish are not convincing, and his explanation of them as marginal glosses of Lucianic origin which have crept into the text (p. 38) is more ingenious than necessary.

The form  $\delta\omega\eta$  which  $\Theta$  exhibits in Deut. 2:5 Dr. Sanders interprets

as a subjunctive, δῶη, referring to Buttmann (1873), p. 46. A much fuller and more modern statement might have been found in Moulton's recent *Prolegomena*, while Helbing's new Septuagint grammar would have strengthened the discussion, and made it unnecessary for Dr. Sanders to appeal in support of his subjunctive δῶη to the δῶη of Deut. 28: 24, 25, which is an undoubted optative, as a glance at the passages will show. The latest Septuagint grammar, that of Thackeray, it may be added, does not recognize a subjunctive δῶη in the Old Testament.

Professor Sanders' collation concludes his work. It is based upon Swete's manual edition, and is carefully made and clearly printed. Very rarely has a difference escaped the collator's eye; an examination of three or four chapters shows only that it is the first ἐπιθήσει of Deut. 7: 15 which Θ replaces by ἐπάξει, and that Θ's ἡμῶν for Swete's ὑμῶν, Josh. 1: 15, is unnoted. In this collation probably the most valuable part of Dr. Sanders' work will be found. It means a considerable addition to the most ancient textual materials for the reconstruction of the Septuagint text of Deuteronomy-Joshua, and while that task is so great and intricate that no single manuscript can be expected to dominate it, new materials are most welcome. It is fortunate that the facsimile and collation of the Freer manuscript have appeared in time to be used by the Cambridge editors, Messrs. Brooke and McLean, who have already published Genesis, Exodus, and Leviticus, and are soon to publish Deuteronomy and Joshua. Meantime we shall await with interest Dr. Sanders' edition of the Freer Gospels, which promise to throw a new light upon the darkest part of New Testament textual study, the Western text.

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## Book Reviews

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**An Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament.** Revised Edition. By S. R. DRIVER, D.D. New York: Scribner. Pp. xxxii+577. \$2.50.

Biblical students of the English-speaking world, if not of all tongues, have long been greatly indebted to the ripe scholarship of Canon Driver. His *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament* has been a school-master that has led many to a new knowledge and proper appreciation of the material and message of the Hebrew Scriptures. The author has had abundant witness of the popularity and worth of his work. The present edition was necessitated by the supply of the tenth becoming exhausted. The opportunity for revision thus afforded brings the volume up to date.

The new edition is after the manner of the preceding one. No description need therefore be given of its style and plan and general contents. The words of the reviewers of the former volume may be applied to the present one in these respects. But since the last edition appeared many notable works on the Old Testament have seen the light. One might be pardoned for supposing that the labor of these men would alter earlier conclusions in an appreciable manner. In taking up the new volume one is struck by the insignificance and paucity of such instances. Even though the author may not accept all the positions whose emphasis has changed in a decade, or be supported in a given view by a majority of scholars, yet the detailed opinion of these men shows no tendency to other than slight deviation and might have received larger recognition. Of the new edition the author is privileged to say:

The substance of the work remains as it was before, with merely occasional improvements in statement, and a correction of a few misprints. The principal and most numerous changes are those that have been involved in bringing the bibliography up to date, and in incorporating notices either of new facts that have been discovered, or of new views that have been propounded.

This permits the author to do what in our judgment is worthy of earnest commendation. The book has not been reset or rewritten. The pages and the sections of the former edition have been retained. "The needful alterations and additions have been introduced on the stereotyped plates." References to the previous edition by other authors



in their published works will not thus be nullified to the reader of the present volume. The method will save much confusion.

The past decade has not lacked in competent and careful scholarship. Our author has either found that no conclusions have been altered, or he has refused to recognize new opinions. These latter being discarded in large measure by the changes in this edition, we are forced to recognize that a general practical unanimity has been reached on the contents and structure of the several books of the Old Testament. The stress of the earlier period has come to fruition in the unanimity which is free to undertake the task of exposition and elucidation. Criticism has tested its ability and is conscious of its strength. The author remarks:

The consensus of so many acute and able scholars, of different countries, of different communions, trained independently in different schools, and approaching the subject with different theological and intellectual prepossessions, cannot, as some would have us believe, rest upon illusion; it can rest only upon the fact that, whatever margin of uncertainty there may be, within which, as explained above, critics differ, there is an area within which their conclusions are deduced, by sound and legitimate logical processes, from a groundwork of solid fact.

This is a great gain. The consistency of criticism has tempted the traditionalist to find his support in archaeology. The author adds a few pages to the preface of the old edition to expose the kind of arguments "which Professor Sayce has imaginatively attributed to the critics," or to give some samples of how Dr. Orr "places a false color upon the facts." This is commendable, inasmuch as the student should be convinced by unquestionable evidence of the untrustworthy nature of the arguments and conclusions of authors of this type, especially when their works are quoted in the bibliography of the book.

The changes and new attitudes observed in the present edition comprise a prominence given to Kennedy in "Samuel," a few additions giving in some detail the opinions of scholars on certain problems, a few new evidences from inscriptions, and a statement appended to "Daniel" consequent on the lexicographical evidence of the Assuan papyri. The latter is the chief feature of the new edition and the author closes the discussion as follows:

In view of these facts, the statement that has been recently made, that the Aramaic "spoken in B.C. 500 from Babylon to the south of Egypt" was "identical" with the biblical Aramaic, and that consequently Daniel might well have written the Aramaic of the book which bears his name, is surprising.



It is in flat contradiction with the facts. To say nothing of the other differences—some of which are striking—the *d* in Daniel, in the cases specified, where not only Egyptian Aramaic, but *all* the older Aramaic, including that of *Babylon itself*, has *z*, is alone sufficient to show that the Aramaic of Daniel is not that spoken either in Egypt, or in Babylon, in the age of Daniel; it is a *different dialect*, the most distinctive features of which disconnect it with Babylonian Aramaic altogether. The special resemblances with Egyptian Aramaic, not less than those with Nabataean and Palmyrene, may be reasonably accounted for by the proximity of Judah to these countries.

A few claims of recent scholarship might have received a little more consideration. For various reasons we have commended the system of our volume, yet the task of retaining the pages and sections of the former edition may have been an unconscious handicap upon the author. There has been ever before him the conflict of space versus importance of material and amount of statement. Possibly the former has been too dominant and the work suffers thereby. But the volume will continue the confidence and usefulness of its predecessor.

R. H. MODE

BRANDON, MANITOBA.

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**Faith and Its Psychology.** By WILLIAM RALPH INGE. New York: Scribner, 1910. x+248 pages. \$0.75 net.

The volumes that have appeared in the new series of handbooks entitled "Studies in Theology" are of very uneven value. That by Dr. Inge justifies high commendation. The book is worthy of more than one reading.

The opening chapters on "Faith as a Religious Term" are rather forbidding, and will tend to discourage the reader who lacks perseverance. A study of the word among the Greeks, in the Bible, and throughout the Christian centuries is in place and is carefully wrought out, but it lacks the interest that attaches to the rest of the book. The author's freedom in questions of biblical criticism may be judged from his date for the Fourth Gospel: 100-120 A.D. But after the manner of an Englishman his terminology and way of putting things are nearly always conservative.

Certain chapters are intensely interesting. Those on "Authority as a Ground of Faith" leave little to be desired. The criticism of Roman Catholicism, with its church-authority, and of orthodox Protestantism, with its book-authority, is trenchant and conclusive. The chapter on "Authority Based on Jesus Christ" is not quite so satisfactory. "It is not strictly correct to say that the historical Jesus of Nazareth, whose

mission terminated when He ceased to walk and teach in Galilee and Judaea, is the primary ground of faith. To say so would be to adopt a static and not a dynamic view of faith. It would rivet our gaze on the past instead of on the future. It would commit us to a pessimistic view of the course of history" (p. 130). The attempt to isolate the records of the Galilean ministry as closing revelation is another example of the tendency to arrest the development of faith at a certain point, in order to gain the convenience of an unchangeable standard of belief and conduct (p. 137). "The complete autonomy of the human spirit would be identical with perfect obedience to Christ" (p. 139).

In the chapter on "Faith as an Act of Will" the author attempts to do justice to the several schools of pragmatism, with all of which he has small sympathy. He regards the Kantian antithesis between the speculative and the practical reason as wholly fallacious, and protests against the separation of faith from fact. "Faith demands the actual reality of its objects, and can never be content with a God who is only an ideal" (p. v). In more than one chapter the author's keen analysis is turned upon Ritschlianism, but unfortunately the footnotes suggest that his acquaintance with Ritschlianism is largely through Orr's able but unfavorable exposition (*The Ritschlian Theology*). Roman Catholic modernism is discussed in a separate chapter as a type of pragmatism. Modernism as a philosophy is called forth by an abnormal situation and is untenable. But it may be questioned whether Dr. Inge does justice to this rich and powerful spiritual movement of modern times. Its representatives do not seem to be treated with the proper discrimination. For example, unlike Loisy, Tyrrell refuses to minimize the unique life and personality of Jesus. To him Jesus Christ was no mere idea. He distinctly severed his position from what he called the extreme left of the school of pragmatists. (See, for example, *The Expositor*, September, 1909, p. 222.)

The discussion of "Faith and Reason" brings out the author's antipathy to the recent tendency to disparage the intellect. He speaks of "this bugbear of 'intellectualism.'" From his point of view "the intellect must play a larger part in the life of faith in the future than it has done in the past" (p. 201). His philosophical affinities are with the absolutists.

The chapter on "The Aesthetic Ground of Faith" is especially good and suggestive. His realism is very marked. "Beauty is one of the fundamental attributes of God, which He has therefore impressed upon His world. I hold it to be a quality residing in the objects, and not imparted to them by the observer" (pp. 203, 204). The beautiful is one of the chief avenues to the knowledge of God. "The worship of the true an

the beautiful is as much a worship of God as the worship of Him under the form of goodness" (p. 219).

The closing chapter is on "Faith as Harmonious Spiritual Development." Faith is a divine endowment of human nature which operates through our natural faculties. It impells us to look for a meaning in life. It seeks for molds to enter and often finds them in creeds presented as authoritative. It comes to its own by being experienced in a life which is full and rich and many-sided. Faithful devotion to any worthy pursuit opens to us avenues extending to the Infinite.

In his Preface the author anticipates the criticism that he has "left rival constructions side by side in the form of patent inconsistencies." He attempts only to clear the site for the new building and to get the materials ready. One feels that there is an unfortunate opposition in the following: "Even the claims of piety must give way to the love of truth. To put the needs of the heart before truth is really an act of treason against Faith" (p. 237). Many will not relish his strictures upon modern democracy. Some will want to know just what is his conception of the transcendence of God, to which he strongly holds. But all should find a splendid summing-up of the situation in the following wise and frank passage:

The words Catholic and Protestant are much like the words Whig and Tory in politics. They are the names of obsolescent distinctions, survivals of old-world struggles. When the next constructive period comes, it will be seen that the spiritual Latin empire and the Teutonic revolt against it belong to past history. Already the crucial question is, not whether Europe shall be Catholic or Protestant, but whether Christianity can come to terms with the awakening self-consciousness of modern civilization, equipped with a vast mass of new scientific knowledge, and animated for the first time by ideals which are not borrowed from classical and Hebrew antiquity (p. vi).

JOHN C. GRANBERY

PHILIPPI, W. VA.



## New Literature

The most important books listed in these columns will receive notice in the book-review pages.

### OLD TESTAMENT

#### BOOKS

JONES, F. A. *The Dates of Genesis. A Comparison of the Biblical Chronology with That of Other Ancient Nations. With an Appendix on Chronological Astronomy.* London: Kingsgate Press, 1909. Pp. 333. 5s.

This is an attempt to demonstrate that Bishop Ussher's chronology, placing the creation of man, for example, at 4004 B.C., is correct and that the records of Genesis are in the closest accord with it. The attempt can hardly be called successful.

KÖNIG, ED. *Hebräisches und aramäisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament mit Einschaltung und Analyse aller schwer erkennbaren Formen, Deutung der Eigennamen sowie der massoretischen Randbemerkungen und einem deutsch-hebräischen Wortregister. Zweite Lieferung.* Leipzig: Dieterich, 1910. Pp. 193-400.

This dictionary will be a boon to German-speaking students of Hebrew on account of its low price (M. 10 when complete) and its elimination of all but the most essential facts. It is just such a dictionary as this that is needed for the English-speaking student of Hebrew. Facility of reference for the elementary student is gained by arranging the words alphabetically rather than under their respective roots. The work has been well conceived and executed and the typographical form is all that could be desired.

SPROTT, T. H. *Modern Study of the Old Testament and Inspiration.* Cambridge: The University Press, 1909. Pp. x + 204.

The author accepts the main conclusions of the modern student of the Old Testament, proceeds to show that the biblical interpretation of the self-manifestation of God in nature, in man's moral constitution, and in history is correct, and upon this basis rests the conclusion that the makers of the Old Testament were granted a special inspiration not possessed by men in general.

#### ARTICLES

HAUPT, PAUL. "Critical Notes on Micah," *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, July, 1910, pp. 201-52.

A reconstruction of the text of Micah in accordance with critical and metrical considerations. The text is printed in strophic form and accompanied by a mass of critical and textual notes evidencing a wide range of learning.

PRINCE, J. D., AND VANDERBURGH, F. A. "The New Hilprecht Deluge Tablet," *Ibid.*, pp. 303-8.

These writers deny practically every claim set forth by Professor Hilprecht concerning this tablet except the fact that it is a fragment of the Deluge story. The early date is declared untenable, the insertion of many phrases from the Old Testament in order to fill the blanks in the tablet is held to be unwarrantable, and Hilprecht's renderings of some crucial phrases are called in question.



MARGOLIS, MAX L. "Scope and Methodology of Biblical Philology," *The Jewish Quarterly Review*, July, 1910, pp. 5-42.

The reappearance of the *Jewish Quarterly Review* in a "New Series" with the support of Dropsie College and edited by Cyrus Adler and S. Schechter is an event calling for congratulations from all interested in biblical and Jewish learning. Dr. Margolis' article is well worthy of occupying the place of honor in the first number of the new series. It is but the forerunner of a book by the same author to be devoted to this subject.

DRIVER, S. R. "The Method of Studying the Psalter—Psalm XVI," *The Expositor*, July, 1910, pp. 26-37.

The supposed significance of Ps. 16 as predicting the resurrection of Jesus is here shown to be contrary to the whole spirit and content of the psalm.

SMITH, H. P. "The Origin of the Messianic Hope in Israel," *The American Journal of Theology*, July, 1910, pp. 337-60.

An important study of a great subject which arrives at the conclusion that "the messianic hope is an original production of the Hebrew prophets."

## NEW TESTAMENT

### BOOKS

SANDAY, WILLIAM. *Christologies Ancient and Modern*. New York: Oxford University Press, American Branch, 1910. Pp. vii + 244.

Professor Sanday declares this to be the last of his studies preliminary to his long-expected *Life of Christ*. The book consists of eight lectures dealing with ancient and modern interpretations of Jesus, together with a ninth paper on Symbolism. In general, Dr. Sanday is here engaged more in stating and criticizing the christological views of others than in stating his own; but in chap. vii, "A Tentative Modern Christology," a brief but careful statement of his own views is given.

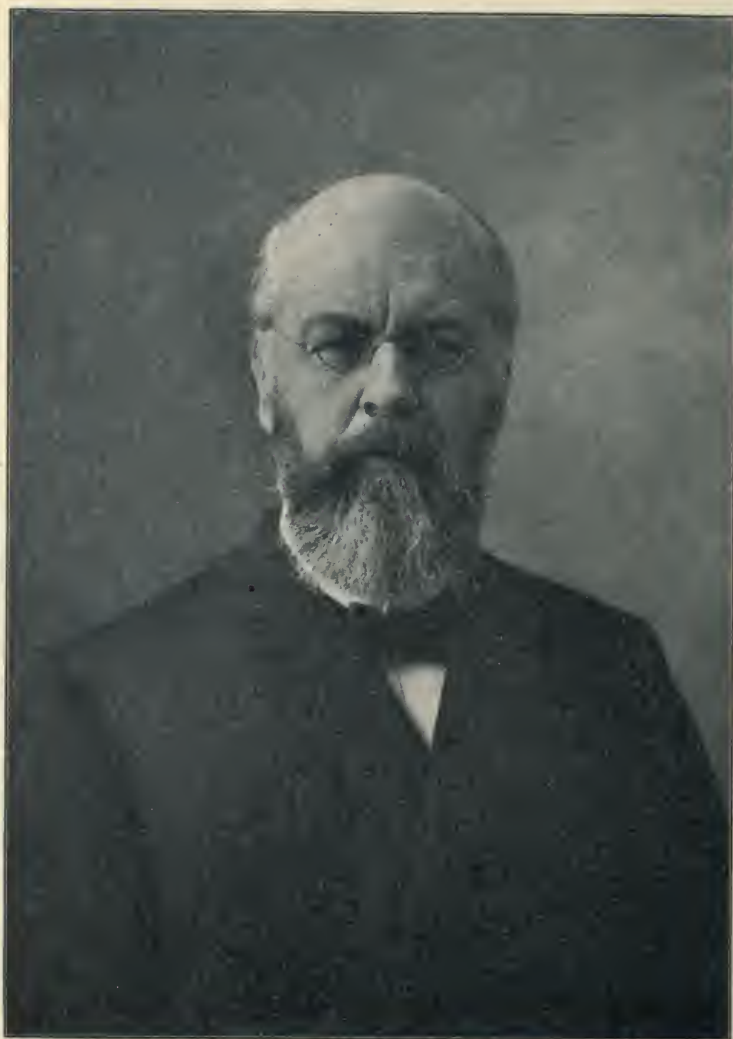
MONTEFIORE, C. G. *The Synoptic Gospels*. Edited with an Introduction and a Commentary. With additional notes by I. Abrahams. London and New York: Macmillan, 1910. Vols. I and II. Pp. xv + xii + 1118. \$5 net.

This commentary, from the pen of a leader of English Reformed Judaism, is one of the signs of the times. Mr. Montefiore thinks it of great importance that the Jews should understand Jesus, and he writes this book for them. He has made a close study of the gospels from the historical and critical point of view: Loisy, Holtzmann, Wellhausen, Weiss, are constantly cited. While Mr. Montefiore's view of Jesus' mission is not wholly convincing, his treatment of Jesus' teaching is in general intelligent and often sympathetic. His discussion of Jewish Messianism in Jesus' day and his view of the historical worth of the gospels seem open to objection. Mr. Abrahams' notes are to follow in a third volume.

LEWIS, AGNES SMITH. *The Old Syriac Gospels, or Evangelion da Mepharreshê: Being the Text of the Sinai or Syro-Antiochene Palimpsest, including the latest Additions and Emendations, with the Variants of the Curetonian Text, Corroborations from many other MSS, and a List of Quotations from Ancient Authors. With Four Facsimiles*. London: Williams & Norgate, 1910. Pp. 78 and 334. 25s. net.

Mrs. Lewis has republished the revised text of the old Syriac gospels which she discovered in 1892, with abundant materials for textual and historical study. Mrs. Lewis strongly contends for the priority of the old Syriac to Tatian's Diatessaron against Professor Burkitt's view. There is a good introduction, with a very full list of the literature of the subject. Students of the Syriac text of the gospels will find much of interest in this volume.





THE LATE PROFESSOR EMIL SCHÜRER, PH.D., D.D.

# THE BIBLICAL WORLD

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## Editorial

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### RELIGIOUS EDUCATION IN THE COLLEGES

Are the colleges of this country doing their full duty by their students in the matter of the moral and religious elements of education? It is easy to assume a fault-finding attitude and to demand impossibilities or to overlook what is being achieved. But it is neither pessimistic fault-finding nor impracticable idealism to recognize that there are desirable possibilities in this direction which the colleges are not achieving.

A recent writer in *Science*, himself a college professor of chemistry, indicts the colleges as having lost the clear vision of their function which they had in their early days, when three-fourths of their students were preparing to enter the Christian ministry. His remedy is first to make all the curricula of the college pre-professional, i.e., to limit the work of the college to preparing men to enter upon a specific course of professional study, and secondly to let all the instruction be a discipline in the solving of problems. It ought to be added that the writer would not make the proposed pre-professional curricula extremely narrow, holding that there is ample room for breadth as well as intensity. If this latter qualification be broadly enough interpreted, it would seem difficult to dissent from this opinion. A college course ought to contribute positively and definitely to the student's preparation for the business of life, and the business of life is three-fourths the solving of problems; but the chemist's problems are not all chemical, nor the lawyer's all legal. Life is larger than any profession, and every man is more than his professional title expresses.

Moreover—and it is that we wish at present to emphasize—



into a large proportion of the most important problems which the college graduate will be called upon to solve there enters a moral and religious element of no small moment; and for the right solution of these problems there is needed, in the first place, a clear grasp of moral principles and a consent of the will to the highest ideals, and, in the second place, some broad knowledge at least of the past experience of men in reference to these matters.

Consider, for example, such questions as these: Is the Christian church a useful force in the community, and an institution to be conserved? What attitude toward it, or part in it, ought I personally to take? The progressive and the conservative tendencies in religious life: which makes most for human welfare and the conservation of true religion, and what ought to be my attitude toward them? Existing social institutions and current methods of business life: ought I to contribute to the improvement of these things, or are they *data* to be accepted, my duty being limited to conducting myself personally as righteously as possible under these conditions? The effort of Christians to extend their influence as Christians to non-Christian lands: is this a chimerical fantasy of partisan enthusiasts, an unjustifiable invasion of the rights of others, or is it the legitimate and necessary expression of the altruism of Christianity? These are but examples of the questions to which every thinking man must assume an attitude. But if so, it needs no argument to show that the four years spent in college in the formative period of youth, in what should be an atmosphere of study and thought, cannot fail to affect the student's attitude toward them, and that the college is not without a measure of responsibility in the matter.

This general fact, we believe, demands special emphasis at this time because of certain facts that are in a measure peculiar to the present time. Among these is the progress of biblical studies, and the many new questions that have been raised by this progress. Neither the progress nor the raising of the questions is to be deprecated. But they make it necessary that if the student is to leave college fitted to take an intelligent attitude toward the church, especially if he is to be an effective force in the church, he shall have had some preparation to face these questions. A second

fact which emphasizes the need of moral and religious education in the college is the present position of philosophical studies in college. Time was perhaps when philosophy was either neutral in its attitude toward religion, or a positive force in its favor. We are very far from affirming that it is today hostile to religion; but no one who knows the situation can doubt that philosophy as taught today in many, if not in most, of our colleges, raises questions the answers to which are likely profoundly to affect not only the personal religion of the student, but eventually also the place of religion in our national life. A third fact is the rapid progress that has been made in recent years in sociological studies. So far from regretting this, it is a thing to be rejoiced in. But again it forces on the attention of thinking men a multitude of difficult and far-reaching questions. And, to mention but one more fact, the drawing of all nations together through the perfecting of means of communication, and the increasing intercourse of nation with nation, is rapidly making it necessary for thoughtful men to take part in the decision of questions not only of the village, and city, and state, and nation, but of the world.

If it be alleged that to ask the college to prepare a man to answer all these questions is to demand impossibilities, and that to expect the student to prepare in college to answer them is to load upon youth what belongs to after-years, this is no doubt in a measure true. Yet it is also to be said that the college student has a right to expect that his college days will give him at least an introduction to the great problems of after-life. What the student begins to learn in college, of this he may pursue the study to any extent thereafter; in the majority of cases that on which he makes no beginning in college or professional school he will not afterward find the leisure to take up *ab initio*.

What then ought the college to do for its students in this direction? In the first place, the college cannot shirk responsibility for creating an atmosphere and influences favorable to the development of strong moral character. This responsibility does not belong to the college alone. It rests on parents also, on the church, and on the man himself. But the college has a large share. It invites parents to send their sons and daughters from their homes

to the college; it invites the students to come. It owes it to them, and to the nation, that having taken the students under its care it shall not do less than its utmost to see that they leave the school confirmed in practical adherence to the highest moral principles.

In the second place, the college owes it to its students to see that as far as possible they have opportunities to make a beginning in the study of the great moral and religious problems that are sure to confront them in after-years. Every college recognizes this obligation in respect to philosophy, economics, and politics. It is surely not less real or weighty in the sphere of morals and religion. The difficulties that state institutions may encounter in meeting this obligation, we need not now discuss. For in fact either by their own efforts, or through the co-operation of the religious forces of the state, the need of which we speak is now being more adequately met at several of the state universities than at many of the denominational colleges. The former have made rapid progress in this direction in recent years. It is, we fear, the colleges founded by religious bodies that are lagging behind.

Such studies as we speak of cannot, as a rule, be required of all students. But courses on the religion of the Bible, on the rise of Christianity, on the history of the church, treated in outline and with a view to showing how we acquired our present-day religious institutions, on the religious condition of the world today, and on the present-day problems of Christianity, fall, we believe, legitimately within the scope of the studies which may be offered in a college that provides electives at all. They should in every case be planned specifically for college students— theological courses thrown open to college students will not answer—they should be conducted by thoroughly competent instructors, and should be at the same time scientific in method and calculated to give wise direction to future thinking and action. They cannot of course be exhaustive, but they may be thorough.

Is it asking too much of our colleges, especially of those which were founded by religious denominations with a distinctly moral aim, that they shall undertake to render this service to their students, and through them to the church and the nation? Much is being done in this direction. Much remains still to be done.



## EMIL SCHÜRER

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PROFESSOR CARL CLEMEN, PH.D.

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German scientific theology has sustained several very severe losses these last three years. In 1908, besides two young professors of Old Testament theology, Bruno Baentsch of Jena, and Justus Koberle of Rostock, Otto Pfeiderer of Berlin died, a scholar of comprehensiveness rather unusual in our days, who, by his books and repeated visits to America, was perhaps as well known in this country as in his fatherland. In 1909 within a single month the faculty of Heidelberg University lost three members of the department of theology, Adolf Hausrath, the church historian and New Testament scholar, Adalbert Merx, the orientalist and Old Testament scholar (who during these last years had cultivated the study of the New Testament, also), and Heinrich Bassermann, author of an excellent book on homiletics and professor of practical theology. At the same time Adolph Kamphausen passed away, one of the oldest members of the faculty of Bonn University; but he had discontinued his lectures on Old Testament theology some years since. Finally, in the spring of this year the heads of the Old and New Testament Departments at Halle University, Erich Haupt and Emil Kautzsch, laid aside their work, and a week before the last mentioned died his old friend and colleague, Emil Schürer of Göttingen, had gone to his rest. It is concerning him that, at the request of the editors of this journal, I am to say a few words.

Having met Professor Schürer only once or twice, I can say little about his personality. Nor have I succeeded in getting many more particulars about his life than are to be found in the usual books of reference. In this respect, therefore, I must confine myself to the main points, and shall lay the most stress upon Dr. Schürer's services to scientific theology, which, I suppose, will be of greater interest to the readers of the *Biblical World* than the details of his life.



Emil Schürer was born May 2, 1844, in Augsburg in Bavaria, where his father was a merchant. He studied theology in Erlangen, Berlin, and Heidelberg, and took his degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Leipzig in 1868. His thesis bore upon a subject to which he did not return in after-days; it was entitled "Schleiermacher's Idea of Religion, and Its Philosophical Suppositions." The paper, on the other hand, which in the following year he wrote for his degree of Licentiate of Theology, was on the "Easter Controversy" of the second century. As the law required at that time, it was written in Latin; an extract in German was published in 1870, however, in the *Zeitschrift für historische Theologie*. A year previous Dr. Schürer had established himself as *Privatdocent* in Leipzig, and in 1873 he was appointed Associate Professor. In 1878 he was called to Giessen, where at that time there were only fifteen students of theology. Together with Drs. Gottschick, Harnack, Kattenbusch, and Stade, who were either already there or were later called, he helped to bring about a very remarkable increase in students. In 1890 he went to Kiel, in 1895 to Göttingen, and there he remained until his death. In 1877 he had been made Doctor of Theology, in 1902 he was elected Pro-Rector of Göttingen University, and in 1908 he received the title of *Geheimer Konsistorialrat*.

The history of the ancient church, from which the subject of Dr. Schürer's last-mentioned paper was taken, was studied by him in after-years, too. In the second volume of the *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* he published an article on "Julius Africanus as Authority for the Pseudo-Justinian Work Entitled *Cohortatio ad Graecos*," in which he proved that this work could not have been written by Justin himself.

But I have not the time to mention all these shorter publications of Schürer's. Some of his results have not stood the test of time; what he said in the *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie* for 1876, in the *Protestantische Jahrbücher* for 1892, and in the *Theologische Abhandlungen*, dedicated to Dr. Weizsäcker, about Luke's relation to Josephus, about the meaning of Galatia in the address of Paul's Galatians, and about the prophetess Jezebel in Rev. 2:20, has not proved tenable; but his other articles were

very valuable contributions to the interpretation of the Jewish and oldest Christian literature.

One problem should be mentioned to which Dr. Schürer paid peculiar attention. His paper on the "Easter Controversy," referred to above, bore at the same time upon the origin of the Johannine writings, and to this question Dr. Schürer returned once more ten years later. In 1899, at a theological conference held in Giessen, he delivered an address on the present status of the Johannine question, which marked an epoch in the history of this much-vexed problem. He gave a succinct but very comprehensive and clear account of it, distinguishing in it these two problems: What relation does the Fourth Gospel bear to the Synoptists? and what to the apostle John? It is true, there have sprung up some other Johannine problems during the last few years, e.g., the question: Was John ever in Ephesus, and, Is the Fourth Gospel a unity? etc; but the older questions with which Dr. Schürer had to do have indeed been answered by most later scholars, and must be answered, in the same way as he answered them, or at least in a way somewhat similar. More than other contributions of his, this paper has influenced the English-speaking world as well as Germany: it was worked over for the *Contemporary Review* of 1891 (Vol. LX), and called forth two answers from Professor William Sanday and Rev. W. W. Peyton, which appeared in the following two numbers of the same periodical.

Some other papers of Schürer's were preliminary studies for, or addresses based upon, his main work, by which he is best known in all countries where a scientific theology exists. This work is his *History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ*. In 1873 there appeared the first edition of this book in one volume of about 700 pages; in the third and fourth editions, this one volume had extended to three, and the 700 pages to more than 2,100. The general outline of all these editions remained the same, two sections having been added in the second one. Dr. Schürer could not make up his mind to arrange his book otherwise or to take up certain other questions which are as important and interesting, but which he had not included in the first draft. In this respect, therefore, his work must be supplemented by other similar

books, especially by Oskar Holtzmann's *Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte* and Wilhelm Bousset's *Religion des Judentums im neutestamentlichen Zeitalter*. Moreover, Dr. Schürer was sometimes a little too conservative in his judgment on particular questions; but in all these cases he enabled the reader to decide for himself by bringing before him the whole literature on the subject in question. In this respect simply nothing has escaped his eagle eye; even the most hidden remarks on a problem have been detected by him and entered in his book. Dr. Harnack says in his obituary published in the *Theologische Literaturzeitung*:

Dr. Schürer has produced a work which has no parallel in any other science; for no other science has such a perfect and indispensable standard work as Schürer's book is for the history of the Jewish people in the time of Christ. Only it has had, and will have, to be brought up to date from time to time, and who shall do that after the author's death?

The second edition has also been translated into English, and at least three portions of it into Dutch.

I just mentioned the *Theologische Literaturzeitung*; by its foundation and management, Dr. Schürer, together with Dr. Harnack, has deserved as well of theology as by his great work on the Jewish people. It is true on a few occasions there have appeared even here unfair criticisms of theological books; but Dr. Schürer himself, who in the first five years and ever since 1888 was the editor of the journal, always, as Dr. Harnack also has of course done, has tried to do justice to all authors, even if he could not fall in with their theological standpoint. By this fairness of his judgment he has exercised an excellent influence on theological production in Germany and abroad; what had been appreciated by the *Theologische Literaturzeitung* could be considered as good indeed. The same impression of absolute fairness was made by Dr. Schürer's personality upon everybody who met him; notwithstanding the inflexibility of his opinions he was a truly tolerant, kind-hearted man. *Have, candida anima!*



## JAR-BURIAL CUSTOMS AND THE QUESTION OF INFANT SACRIFICE IN PALESTINE<sup>1</sup>

W. H. WOOD, PH.D.  
New Haven, Conn.

Coming now to our central point of interest, Palestine, it is observed at once that the use of the jar for burial purposes is an extensive one. Every excavated city adds new data.

At Ta'annek Mr. Sellin unearthed a large number "hin und her auf dem ganzen Hügel verstreut." They were found under houses, under stones, near a wall, or in the open with enough around what is termed an altar to be called a children's cemetery. The jars were for the most part of the plain, common, pointed-bottom, water-jar variety. The height varied from 0.60 m. to 0.90 m. Not all had covers. Some stood upright, others lay on the side. Single burial was the rule but was not universal, as one jar was found to contain skeletons of three children.

According to Mr. Sellin use was made of the jar here exclusively for children. Bones of adults were found *near* large jars but *selbstverständlich* none such were found *in* these. What may be an exception, however, to this general statement is the find reported on p. 51. Near a wall in the west fortress but lying immediately on the rock between two vessels, a larger and a smaller, was the skull of an adult. Three meters away to the east, "kaum ein ganzes Lager, drei männliche Schädel und einige Knochen lagen dicht beisammen" with a larger and some smaller vessels near by. There were graves only  $1\frac{1}{2}$  meters away. This find on the natural rock, where neither the body nor yet a jar would have been deposited and with graves only  $1\frac{1}{2}$  meters distant suggests strongly that some grave-disturber had dug up this larger jar with the adult remains in it and also the food jars and then left them in this present condition on the rock. Jar-burial customs as illustrated elsewhere would strengthen the suggestion. Moreover it is to be remembered that only a part of the tell

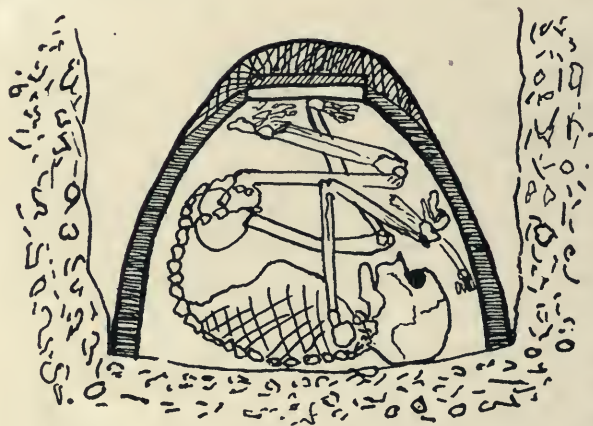
<sup>1</sup> Continued from the September issue of the *Biblical World*.



has been excavated and that the part where a wall or a building stood.

The jar, if too small at the neck, was broken to admit of the insertion of the body and then repairs were made by means of a fragment of pottery. The food and drink supplies in jars were placed either inside or by the side of the burial urn. Mention is not made as to whether any earth was found in the jars or not.

Concerning the child-cemetery, this was located in the neighborhood of what appears to have been an old Canaanitish altar, i.e., the sacred spot of the city. It was not, however, reserved exclusively for children, for the remains of one adult were exhumed. Since, too, only twenty burials were found, of which one was this adult, and since only about one-quarter of the cemetery was excavated it would be difficult to speak of any set proportion. It is clear that the sacred spot was a desirable one wherein to find a last resting-place, but since the number found is comparatively small it must have been a spot accessible only to the wealthy or favored few, or else burial in consecrated territory, unlike the custom of Babylonia, claimed only a few orthodox devotees.



*After Vincent*

AN ARCHAIC EGYPTIAN BURIAL URN

At Megiddo the common water-jar was the one employed. Those in the upright position were supplied with covers, but those lying on the side did not seem to need such. While the majority contained children yet, unlike at Ta'annek, undoubted examples of adults

jammed in the jars have come to hand. Where necessity demanded it force was applied to get the body in. There was no set rule for the position of the body in the jar. Sometimes the head was at the mouth, again it lay on the bottom as at Gezer. When in the latter position occasionally a small vessel was placed between the head and the bottom of the jar. If the jar was very large and the body small, the latter lay at the bottom and had probably been deposited in a bent-up posture. Single and plural, but no partial, burials are noted.

The jars were deposited on the side or upright and while most of them when found contained no earth at all, yet some did. This latter can be accounted for by the custom of not supplying those laid on the side with covers and also by the fact that where earth was found inside, the cover could not be found.

The burial location for the jars ranged all over the tell. They have been found beneath the floors of houses or in the central court; under, outside of, or leaning up against a wall; in a tomb or chamber; within a stone enclosure; or in the neighborhood of the sacred area. This latter place was not reserved for children. All occupants of the tell, Amorites, Egyptians, and Romans, followed like customs.

Excavations on the imperial farm of Râs el-Aîn near Tyre and for the foundation of the Anglican Church and College of St. George-the-Martyr at Jerusalem add further examples of jar-burial customs, but no new data. A number of examples are also reported from Jericho, Judeideh, Safi, and Zakariya, but with no new facts to advance the study. At Jericho bodies of children in jars were found beneath the clay floors of the Canaanite houses.

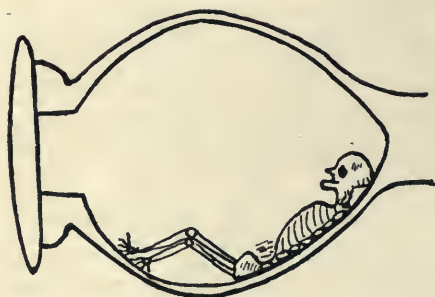
Professor Petrie's report from el-Hesi is of special importance.

The cemetery is outside of the town enclosure. . . . It does not appear to have been for human remains; no bones that were found appeared human; and only a little wire circlet that might have been a child's bracelet would lead us to think of human burials. Among the fragments of bones found here is a part of the lower jaw of an ass. These bones were found in jars, which were all filled with sand; the filling sand was often white and distinct from the light brown sand of the hill. . . . The jars were upright in the ground. . . . I have named this place a cemetery because bones are found there; but it may as likely have been a place of religious sacrifice and offerings.

This is the find which Mr. Macalister interpreted as proving infant sacrifices, arguing from the likeness to his find at Gezer. But where-

in does that likeness consist? The jars were of the same general type at each place; were usually provided with a cover; were filled with either earth or sand—the former at Gezer, the latter at el-Hesi—and were accompanied by smaller vessels. But the differences are at least significant. *None of the bones at el-Hesi could be called human and as far as any indications could be observed they were those of animals.* It would seem rather difficult to have infant sacrifice without the infants, but Mr. Macalister thinks his find at Gezer warrants him in calling those unrecognizable remains those of infants.

At Gezer the variety of vessels includes the water-jar, the bowl, the saucer, and the jug. They are all vessels of domestic use. Single burial predominated, though both the partial and the plural put in an appearance. The use of the jar seems to have been confined to the burial of children and the usual position for the body was head downward. The place of burial for the jar and its contents is, as at Ta'annek, under the floor of a house, in a tomb or cave, under a wall, in the crematorium, or within the temple area. No one of these places, *not even the temple area*, was used exclusively for children (Q. S. 1903, 224).



After Birch

1. EXAMPLE OF ROMAN BURIAL



2. BURIAL URN FOUND AT KALATAPA (RUSSIA)

The jars were deposited on the side and were sometimes, but not always, supplied with covers. Fine earth was found in many of those deposited in the earth but not in any where there was no opportunity for it to have fallen in. Jars for food and drink were found both within and without the urn containing the human remains.



The date of the use of the jar extends from the earliest times down to the Maccabean period.

#### CONCLUSIONS

The conclusions from this study may now be summarized.

1. The first observation is that the use of the jar as a burial vessel extends from the dawn of history down even to the present time. This fact, while very valuable for a knowledge of burial customs in general, in that it shows the jar to be in many lands the first-known sarcophagus and burial customs to be among the most conservative, yet excludes any attempt at tracing an evolution from it to the modern coffin. The jar was not made primarily for burial purposes nor even chosen because of its *form* for this end. The causes productive of changes in the character of the coffin are not to be sought in the principle of finding an improved means for a certain end but rather in changing religious notions and customs.

2. The jar is to be considered the sarcophagus and not the place of burial. The body was laid away in it, clothed or not, and then a burial-place either in the earth or in a tomb was found for the jar. When the place of deposit was the earth, precaution was taken to prevent the entrance of the surrounding soil into the jar. The remains only, or sometimes these with the addition of a food vessel or some ornaments, were intended to occupy the space in the jar.

To the question as to why the jar was chosen when the motive of protection for the body sought expression, it may be answered that its place in the domestic life was the determining factor. The burial vessels were all those of domestic use and since among these the water-jar would be one of the first molded and the most abundant in numbers also, it would be but natural to find evidence of its abundant use. The jar type of vessel was also found very useful in domestic life for storing away grain and other articles of food or of drink.

3. The motive leading to the use of a burial vessel did not lead further to the *creation* of a special vessel for the purpose. The domestic vessels were pressed into service except in the case of the canopic jars in Egypt and the face- and house-urns in Germany; hence the varieties in shape and size. This will explain also why the same sort of jars and other vessels were used for the deposits of food and



drink; also for burial of animals, treasures, and tablets. This is why no argument can be based on the *form* of the jar.

4. The jar determined the form of the burial. The body had to be accommodated to the jar and not vice-versa. The best evidence for this came from usages in Babylonia during the Semitic period. The significance of this fact, which shows the *adapted* use of the jar and the slight regard for the body, is the light it throws on the force of the jar-burial customs. In the ancient Semitic world only the belief in a future existence in which this mortal body was to play its part was able to break the hold of these ancient customs and lead the Egyptians to the use of the anthropoidal sarcophagus. In Babylonia, where this belief was not operative, even after the Egyptian anthropoidal shape of the coffin was introduced, the old customs exerted their power and sometimes two bodies were crushed into one of these coffins which was not more than five feet long.

On this ground it might be suggested that here may be found an explanation for the cramped, bent-up position of the body even when it had not been forced into a jar, but buried directly in the earth. The position persisted even when the burial vessel had been changed.

The question may also be raised whether we may not see here the originating cause of the practice of cremation. The oldest burials in Babylonia are those of cremated remains, for which the jar was used; and it may be significant that when the Semites still continued the jar-burial custom they made the jar superior in importance to the body, which, since they did not practice burning, they cut or broke up to fit the jar. Mr. Koldewey, on the contrary, thinks the burning was the chief act of piety and after that little care was given to the disposition of the remains.

5. The burial process reveals the following facts: When the body was deposited intact in the jar it was sometimes clothed, but oftener not.

No order was observed in the act of insertion—the head might rest on the bottom of the vessel or be at the mouth; and when the body had been cut or broken up or skeletonized the parts were deposited pell-mell.

The jar was used for the burial of both infants and adults. There is not enough evidence at hand to say that it was chosen *first* for

children only. In Palestine its use was reserved almost exclusively for the latter, because no doubt of the presence of convenient natural tombs, as well as the possibility of making such places for the burial of the body. By the use of the jar an infant could be buried in the sacred place.

Single, plural, and partial burials prevail.

There was no set position for the jar itself when it was laid away; it lay on the side, stood upright, or was inverted over the remains.

Exclusive urn-burial grounds occur in Germany and Austria and at Ta'annek in Palestine. Round the altar at the latter place jars only were found.

Among the Semites there is a preference for the sacred spots as the place of burial. Only certain places, however, in Babylonia enjoyed excessive patronage, while at others the practice was followed with more or less regularity. In Palestine the Semites took up the custom of tomb burial and since there was no special spot or city sacred from times past and devoted to burial purposes, the old custom found no immediate means for expression; however, lingering traces of its presence are observed in the jar-burials in the temple area or in the neighborhood of the sacred place.

The same burial ceremonies are observed with the jar-burials as with the others.

6. No religious ideas peculiar to jar-burials have been found. This is due to the fact that the jar was considered merely the means of protection for the body and then when the body, so confined, was laid away the same final ceremonies attended the act as in the case of an uncoffined or tomb burial. The facts, further, that the jar was a domestic vessel applied to this end; that it was used for either cremated, uncremated, or skeletonized remains; that it was used for the burial of many things besides human remains; and that the jar determined the form of the burial, would exclude the possibility of the operation of any constant religious ideas.

With these conclusions we are now prepared to approach the problem raised by Mr. Macalister, viz., whether the jar-burials discovered in the temple area at Gezer indicate infant sacrifice.

We concede at once the *possibility*, that any burial unearthed, whether the jar was used or not, and where even the regular burial

customs had been observed, may be a case of sacrifice. A father may have devoted his child to his god and then buried the remains in the regular way. But such a possibility cannot be taken as a proved fact until some tangible proof of its actuality has been adduced. This then reduces the problem to the question whether these jar-burials at Gezer require this hypothesis of infant sacrifice for their explanation or whether the hypothesis can even gain a foothold in any of the phenomena presented.

The facts which seem to Mr. Macalister to require this hypothesis for their explanation are: The place was the temple area; the bodies were those of infants; they were buried in jars; earth was found in the jars; the body had been inserted head first; and some bodies showed traces of fire.

Over against this contention we would maintain the thesis that what Mr. Macalister found at Gezer were merely examples of jar-burials, which relate themselves to the knowledge of jar-burial customs in general and require nothing further for their explanation. The study of the latter has shown that the sacred area was chosen as the burial-place for all persons and not for sacrificed infants only; that the fact that human remains were found buried in jars should excite no suspicion or suggest anything beyond a natural burial; that the position of the bones in the jar bears no special significance since there was no rule governing their insertion into the vessel; that when earth is found in the jar this is to be regarded as accidental; and if some bones show traces of fire this fact bears no relation to the jar-burial.

Thus Mr. Macalister's find at Gezer along with the similar ones at other points in Palestine have made a valuable contribution to the subject of jar-burial customs, but can hardly be used as casting light upon the religious practices of the Canaanites—except in so far as these are expressed in the burial customs.



## CHRISTIANITY AND THE INDIGENOUS THOUGHT OF INDIA

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Madura, India

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The problem that confronts the Christian missionary in his efforts to bring to the people of India that help and inspiration which it is the office of Christianity to impart to all people is a many-sided and complex one. It is no simple matter of the exportation of the "goods"—even the moral and intellectual "goods"—of one land to another, and, though after the manner of Jesus it may be described in terms of leaven and the lump, these words rather suggest the vital nature of the process than adequately describe its complexity. It is necessary, in the first place, to remember that the Christian truth which is to be made vital in Indian thought and life is not the same as that interpretation of Christian truth which the West has elaborated through many centuries in consonance with its own mental bias and intellectual prepossessions. The latter expresses fully the western emphasis upon life, and the western, especially the Anglo-Saxon, type of mind is more nearly antipodal than any other to that of India; and the hemisphere of life which it has cultivated is complementary to that of India.

It should not be supposed therefore that our duty is to carry bodily our western thought and life to that land where it could not possibly be intelligible, congenial, or useful. The distinguished Indian Christian, Kali Charran Bannerjee, significantly emphasized, in an address to missionaries, the supreme fact that what India requires today is not "adjectival Christianity but the substantive thing." Indian Christians are coming to feel this more and more; and the non-Christian educated people of India are most pronounced in this conviction. It is essential Christianity that must be related to Hindu thought and life; and there is in the



religious speculation, the dogmatic assertion, and the ecclesiastical assumption of our western Christianity much less that is of the very essence of our faith than we are wont to think.

In this task of relating Christianity to Indian thought we have a decided advantage over those who have gone before. The science of comparative religion not only helps us to see what is good in other faiths, but also enables us to realize the partial, local, and inadequate interpretation which any one nation or people has given to our own faith. And our broader sympathies and wider knowledge of men save us from thrusting our prejudices and dogmatic assertions upon non-Christian peoples, as often happened in the past. To illustrate: Two centuries ago the Bible was first translated into a language of the Far East, the Tamil language. The attitude of mind of Protestant Christians, at that time, toward the religions of India was one of pronounced hostility. They regarded these faiths as of the devil, and even their terminology as a thing to be avoided so far as possible. The consequence was that the Holy Scriptures were translated in such a way that popular Hindu terms, which had definite and strong significance to the people, were scrupulously avoided, and other words, less vital in the thought and life of the people, were substituted for them in the Tamil translation. The missionary body today would be most happy to change these terms and to utilize far more largely popular Hindu terminology to express the fundamentals of our faith, were it not that the Bible has already (after two centuries of circulation) largely determined our Christian terminology, so that it would be unwise today seriously to change the same, however much more valuable and useful new terms might be to non-Christian peoples.

The modern unrest of India is in no small degree the dissatisfaction of that land with our western intellectual and religious arrogance, which strives to lead all men to think in our channels and to emphasize our western ideals and virtues. In the impartation of Christian truth, we should not therefore emphasize our occidental experience and elaboration of our faith. That type will never strongly appeal to or prevail in the East. Yet we should not try to eliminate *entirely* our western type of thought

and life; for it will have a value as a corrective of the oriental and is complementary to the same. The East and West must find their place in the interpretation of Christian truth. It is only in the full blending of these two that our faith is to find its perfect expression.

The East and West without a breath  
Mix'd their dim light like life and death  
To broaden into boundless day.

The work of the Christian teacher in India may be considered, first, in reference to the indigenous thought and life of that land. It is of vital importance that the attitude of the missionary toward this thought should be intelligent. It is a lamentable fact that few missionaries, and fewer Indian Christians, are thoroughly familiar with Indian thought. There lingers still the old conviction that indigenous thought and life in India are unworthy of our consideration and are of the devil. No European should be allowed to teach Christian truth in the institutions of that land who has not mastered Hindu thought, at least in some of its important ramifications. In our Christian educational work in that land such a knowledge is second only to a thorough knowledge of our own faith. No people on earth have engaged more, and for a longer time, in religious speculation, or have thought out more patiently and devoutly the relations between God and man than have the people of India; and no one is worthy to be a teacher of those people in divine things who is not familiar with the thoughts of God as they have been revealed in past ages to the sages of that land.

It should also be thoroughly sympathetic. It must not trifle with the teaching of many centuries, which is not only hoary with age but is also most pathetically sincere and patient. It is necessary to know that India has produced some of the highest religious speculations, the profoundest philosophies, and the most remarkable systems of ontology that the world has known. These have been the thought-pabulum and the spiritual nourishment of this great people for millenniums: One should not deal harshly or unsympathetically with these spiritual aspirations and yearnings of that people. He must be able to see what is in them that has

rendered them, in a sense, adequate to the need of, and expressive of the deepest mind of, a people for so many centuries.

It must also be dominantly constructive in its character. Even today many missionaries believe that they have been sent to the East to tear down and trample under foot these systems of thought and spiritual aspirations which, they say, are of the evil one. Rather is it necessary to regard them as containing many vital and eternal truths which must be conserved—stones out of the old temple of Hinduism to be placed in the new and abiding temple of the Christian faith. Some of the most fundamental teachings of ancient and modern India are among the eternal verities of religion to be valued and preserved both for their own sake and also for the reason that they have been cherished in that land from time immemorial and have revealed the mold of the mind and heart of the East during all this time.

Moreover, many of these truths only require to be exalted and taken out of their base setting and chastened and re-expressed in modern terms in order to be properly related to Christian truth. Pantheism itself, which has wrought more evil for India than any other teaching of the land, is India's profoundest and most powerful doctrine. It has wrought more for India than all other teachings combined in the type of character which it has produced and in its influence upon the faith of which it is the foundation stone. Yet pantheism is only a perverted truth. It is an over-emphasis upon the all-important doctrine of divine immanence. Just as the West so exalted God that He transcended their highest thought, so the East has drawn God so near to them that they are unable to see him and know him. It reveals marvelously the type of oriental mind which has well been described as "the mind of a God-intoxicated people." There are elements in this doctrine which must be conserved, through which our faith can be made the more vital and helpful to the oriental. Indeed the new monistic conception which is rapidly becoming basal to our western theological thought reveals the growing readiness of the western mind to compromise with the dominant Vedantic thought of India at this point. I know of no more radical change of base in western religious thought during the centuries than this of the recent



acceptance of some of the leading contentions of eastern pantheism. Nor do I know of any more serious danger which besets our modern theology than that which is incident to the domestication of this monistic idea. There are already indications which tend to prove that the two supreme evils of pantheism—the obliteration both of the personality of God and of the ethical responsibility of man—are invading the realm of our western dogmatic thought. The supreme test of our western sanity must be found in our ability to extract from pantheism its honey and to reject its poison—the poison which has paralyzed Indian thought and life for thirty centuries.

In like manner the doctrine of *Karma*, which is so all-pervasive and convincing in the thought and life of Hindus and Buddhists alike, is but a twisted and distorted expression of the fundamental Christian truth of the universality and remorselessness of the moral law in God's universe. It needs to be chastened and properly related to the fundamental Christian doctrine of grace in order to acquire permanent value in our religion.

Some of these thoughts, which are indigenous in India, are definitely preparatory to the higher Christian truth. This is essentially so of the Vaishnavite doctrine of faith (*bhakti*), which indeed may have been originally adopted from Christianity in the third century of our era and which is the nearest approach, among the teachings of that faith, to that of our own divine religion. When that doctrine which is now so popular in India has been cleansed from its impurities, released from its association with unworthy gods, and brought into intimate relationship with our Christ, it will accomplish more, perhaps, in making our faith indigenous in India than any other doctrine that has ever been taught there.

The life of the Indian people will also require proper consideration in the relating of the indigenous life of that land to our faith. There is much that is exceedingly low and debasing in the life of the Indian people. Hinduism has definitely cultivated such, or at least is responsible for most of it. Yet there is a type and an ideal of life and aspiration there which definitely belongs to that people and which is strangely complementary to the western ideals of life which have been so identified in our mind and theirs



with Christian demands and ideals. The West has so exalted and given supreme emphasis to the aggressive and positive types of character that these have become highly enthroned among our cardinal virtues; so that we look with suspicion and contempt upon that other hemisphere of life which does not reveal these. We speak of the "mild Hindu" and regard him as hardly worthy of our respect. We forget that the passive virtues, which have shone with such exclusive luster in India, are as truly a part of Christian life, as taught and exemplified by Christ, as are the assertive, aggressive virtues which have been so emphasized by us. They, for instance, accept with us the whole of the second table of the *Décalogue*; but their emphasis upon the separate members of that Decalogue is entirely different from ours. For instance, patience, with them, is a supreme virtue of God and man; impatience is the grossest sin. We, on the other hand, look at impatience as a mere foible and ordinarily think of patience itself as hardly more than a weakness of character. In our endeavor to explain our Lord's teaching concerning non-resistance in the Sermon on the Mount we are always in danger of explaining it away. The oriental, on the other hand, finds no difficulty in accepting with perfect literalness that teaching of our Lord because it appeals to the deepest ideals of his oriental character. We must remember that the other hemisphere of life, of virtues, of ideals, is complementary to that which we have so assiduously and excessively cultivated in the West. And we must understand the real value of the non-resisting, patient, enduring life of the East, that we may exalt it adequately and relate it properly to our own type of life. The Christian teacher, realizing this relationship, should aim to present to his students a full-orbed type of Christian life, embracing the eastern and the western emphasis.

The work of the missionary may also be considered in reference to Christian truth itself. This truth should be separated, so far as may be, from its western setting. This, of course, reveals a crucial difficulty in the work of the man of the Occident in the Orient. The truth which he has inherited is (to him) so inseparable from its western coloring and his inherited expression of it that he easily identifies the thing itself with its expression. He

can never fully disengage himself from his inheritance and bias of thought and life; but he must always aim to lay aside his prepossessions and bring to his students, as far as possible, that aspect of our religion which will best appeal to them and which will most quickly develop within them the noblest traits of life and character possible.

He must make Christ the center and the supreme test of his teaching. Jesus is the world-Christ. He is at least as oriental as he is occidental. He appeals to India today as no other incarnation of life ever did in that land. He has already captivated the mind and imagination of the leaders and the cultivated men of India. I know of nothing more encouraging to the Christian worker in India today than the way in which the Christ ideal of life is captivating the minds of the educated men of India. Many thousands of them see in Christ the first and only perfectly incarnated ideal of life that India has ever known. For the first time in all the history of that land and people their eyes are turned to one whose example is perfect and following whom they will reach the highest attainment and expression of human life and character. Jesus, in his words and life, is the essential Christianity and is what India supremely needs. He should be the center and the circumference of the teacher's message in the Christian schools of that land. Whatever of indigenous thought and life is worth conserving in Hinduism finds fulfilment and realization in Him. India's redemption must be found definitely in Him. The ideals of life, the fulfilment of all truth, and the realization of immortality—he incarnates all these, because he is "the Way, the Truth, and the Life." Those parts of our sacred Scriptures which reveal him should have precedence and have all but exclusive use in the pulpit and the classroom. This is pre-eminently desirable in the primary and lower classes where an extended course of religious training is impossible.

While importance should indeed be given to the universality of Christ's life and teaching, the oriental aspect of both should find clear and definite enunciation and emphasis.

Care should be exercised in appointing only qualified men to impart Christian truth to the people of India. And, among the

qualifications, a thorough belief in the uniqueness of our faith and of our Lord is absolutely essential. A man who is not grounded in the essentials of Christianity, and who has not found in Christ himself a new life and joy, will not be prepared to do this work. Perhaps there is no one thing so fundamentally important to this Christian teacher in India today as a possession of the experience of the power of the living and reigning Christ within his own soul. It is of supreme consequence to him and to his work that he know, in the intimacies of his daily life, the One whose messenger he is and whom he tries by word and example to make known to his students. Moreover, a fair acquaintance with the life and the language of the people is of great importance to the teacher. It is highly undesirable that men just imported from the West should be given this sacred function of teaching the people, young or old, while knowing practically nothing about their inherited faith and their oriental type of life.

## THE BIBLE AND ETHICAL CODES

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What a man thinks of his Bible from the viewpoint of ethical codes must largely depend upon the theory he holds as to the main purpose of God in blessing the world with the book. If he believes that God's chief intention in the matter was to bestow upon humanity, once and for all, a complete set of rules for our guidance in every particular of every relationship of our increasingly complex lives, he will consult the book continually with the expectation of finding within it the precise directions he needs in connection with each step that he takes. If, on the other hand, he looks upon his Bible as the principal vehicle of that revelation of himself to men, as Creator, Upholder, Moral Governor, and Savior, which God saw was absolutely essential to their highest development and well-being; and as containing only such moral precepts as from time to time represented the growing needs of the people, through whose seers this revelation was given; he will, consciously or unconsciously, do these two things in his own interests: First, he will study the book principally to learn all it can tell him about God, particularly as he stands revealed in the life and teaching of his Son, Jesus Christ. And secondly, he will gather from the book all he can find there of a nature suitable for his guidance in the affairs of his twentieth-century life; and when he sees it failing him at some scores of points, he will look into the laws of his own church and country, in the full belief that the same God who guided the Israelite is guiding individuals and peoples still, by giving them new laws suitable to their various additional requirements.

Few, if any, today actually hold any other position toward the Bible than the second of those which I have just described. The debates which have arisen over the question of the Bible and ethical codes have grown out of the fact that some men still think that they regard the first position I have set forth as the correct one, though they do not really so regard it at all.



First of all, then, let me say that if we could find a man who really holds that the Bible contains this complete and perfect code, we should have in our presence an individual capable of believing that all necessary original thinking on questions of moral conduct was done by a few members of one small family of mankind, before the end of the second century A.D. The Bible is a product of the Israelitish mind as divinely enlightened. This process of divine illumination on the foregoing theory came to an end with the completion of the New Testament. This means that from that date to the end of human history, there could exist no need for, and therefore no experience of, such divine illumination as was imparted to and enjoyed by the seers of the Old and New Testaments. The question does not lie here between the illumination experienced by Jesus and that enjoyed by the church from the day of Pentecost onward, but between the illumination bestowed upon the church from Pentecost to the end of the apostolic period, and that experienced by the same church from the end of the apostolic period to the close of the Christian era. For Jesus, according to John, distinctly informed him and his fellow-apostles that he had not taught them everything, but that they would themselves enjoy illumination by the same Spirit that had made him the teacher they had found him to be. By that Spirit, and not by himself, they would be guided into all they needed to know. Is there anyone who really believes that the church during this brief period actually faced and permanently settled every question with a moral aspect that would become a practical one before the end?

When one speaks of questions with a moral aspect he opens up a large field. The world of thought and action was once divided by Christian thinkers into two departments, which were designated as sacred and secular. This is no longer done with any definiteness, for a certain divine illumination has made it clear that thought and action along the "secular" lines demand the guidance of conscience and the approval of God, and must, therefore, be regarded as also distinctly "sacred." God is king of the whole life, or he is no king at all.

In morals the personal equation is one of no small dimensions. It can be seen from the standpoint of the choice of one's life-work, and it is very obtrusive sometimes in connection with questions of foods and recreations. It is generally recognized, for instance, that some

men must be preachers of the gospel, or lead a life of continuous rebellion against God. It is also believed that some of these preachers must go to foreign lands with their message, or live under the same condemnation. It is held, too, that, considered as a class, each of these men knows for himself, apart from and often against the opinion and wish of his fellow-men, that he is "called" to this service. Carey is a leading example. But whence came Carey's call? From what ethical code? "Quench not the Spirit" would guide him after the call reached him. But no word of the New Testament laid upon William Carey missionary service as his life-work. God spoke to him directly, as truly as he did to the apostle Paul, or any ancient prophet.

I shall not tarry over the fact that in matters of foods and recreations the duty of abstinence is often determined by purely personal considerations, which no ethical code could by any possibility deal with in a satisfactory way. "Thou shalt" reaches one man and "Thou shalt not" another in connection with the same act. It is a matter of tradition, if not of history, that John Wesley quit the pursuit of mathematics to avoid sinning against his own soul. The Spirit of God, working through intellect and conscience, and often mysteriously instructing men, still illuminates and guides the individual. There can, in the very nature of things, be no complete ethical code for the government of any individual life. And God's plan for governing the race is, to an extent not generally recognized, that of dealing with its members individually and directly. Ethical codes, therefore, do not deal with the individual as an individual, so much as they meet him as a member of the social organism.

Is, then, the ethical code of the Bible in all its particulars fitted to govern men of every clime and age to the end of human history? And is it complete? In other words, does it provide for every phase of human activity that has called, or will call, for righteous legislative control?

The first fact calling for our attention here is that, when one is asked for the code we are now to discuss definitely, he can only reply that its various items may be found scattered through the various documents of which the Bible is composed, and that they cannot be codified, or set forth as a distinct body of laws, without the expenditure of much labor. The Bible is not an ethical code. It is something higher. It contains our most glorious revelation of God. Associated

with that in the volume, however, are many ethical precepts. But any man who attempts the task of codifying these will find himself compelled to do much sifting, for Christ and his apostles dealt rather freely with at least some portions of the Mosaic legislation. One of the latter, Paul, wrote of Christ that he "broke down the barrier that separated Jew and Gentile and in his human nature put an end to the cause of enmity between them—the Law with its injunctions and ordinances" (Eph. 2:15). To this he adds in another place, "He cancelled the bond which was against us—the bond which consisted of ordinances—and which was directly hostile to us. He has taken it out of the way by nailing it to the cross" (Col. 2:14).

There has been much debate as to how far Paul really went in these statements and others which might be cited. But it can scarcely be doubted that he regarded his Lord as having, by his earthly life and his law of love, not only set aside the elaborate ritual of Mosaism, but superseded the whole moral code also, through the substitution for it of the single inclusive principle of love. Consequently we find that his own chief aim was neither to master the ethical code of the past, nor to produce a perfect one for the guidance of himself and his fellow-believers, but to build up both himself and them in the knowledge of Christ. He saw that "Christ has brought Law to an end, so that righteousness may be obtained by every one who believes in him" (Rom. 10:4), and was a legalist no longer. He turned from the Law to the Life, to find a wealth both of information and of motive touching righteousness to which he would otherwise have been a stranger. The least we can say is that the ethical code in which he had been reared became to Paul a poor, dwarfed thing, big enough still to awe the man who loved transgression, but too unenlightened and feeble to help greatly the Christian believer in his pursuit of the holiness of his Master (I Tim. 1:9).

So the ethical code of the Old Testament met with disparagement at the hands of the most intellectual and voluminous of the New Testament writers. We cannot present the whole truth, however, without stating besides, that he disparaged it only when he compared it with the one positively and resplendently perfect human life. Considered in itself, he both valued and used it. His letters contain many ethical precepts, original and quoted. He knew that the church



needed them. He even accepted for his Gentile converts the regulations passed by the Jerusalem council for their guidance, though soon afterward he assured at least one of his churches that the man who ignored them with a free conscience in a certain particular showed a more vigorous and intelligent faith than they did who obeyed at this point (I Cor. 8:6-8).

I should now attempt to define the term ethical code, for it is probably at this point the chief difficulty has arisen. An ethical code is a body of precepts or laws touching conduct, of such a sort that they make an appeal to the conscience. Every law which makes this appeal belongs to the ethical code of the man who receives it. The appeal arises from the recognized righteousness which the law represents. The law may deal with any phase of human life whatever—religious, political, social, sanitary, or sexual. All law that through its apparent rightness appeals to the conscience, is ethical. All legal codes are ethical codes so far forth as they represent righteousness. To hold any other ground is to introduce confusion into both thought and life. Sanitary laws, for instance, are as sacred, though not as fundamental, as religious laws. Man's original and supreme relationship is Godward, and has to do with himself as distinguished from the material body, which he now inhabits and uses as his instrument for the accomplishment of his work in this world of matter. But he owes to his body, as Paul points out, the duty before God of nourishing, cherishing, guarding, and controlling it, not only as his own abode and instrument, but also as the very temple of God himself. Every human relationship is sacred and every duty moral. The Mosaic legislation in all its phases rests firmly upon the recognition of this fact. "Thus saith Jehovah" is its very keynote. It may be further said, too, that the voice of conscience and the recognized voice of God never conflict, because the former is so constituted that of necessity it makes itself an echo of the latter. It is only when the voice of God is not recognized by it, or has not yet reached it, that conscience directs into wrong paths. The voice of conscience, therefore, whatever else it may stand for, represents all that men have learned of the will of God, and when God speaks to men at all, he wakes up their consciences to speak for him. This is true for all the ages. To forget or ignore it is to enter into darkness



and pass on to disaster. Consequently all legislation which is recognized as righteous is looked upon as a gift of God to those who receive it, and for the time being at least men rest and rejoice in it.

God legislates for each time and people through the best combination of intellect and conscience then and there available. So all divine laws are at the same time human, though it is by no means true, on the other hand, that all human laws are also divine. Paul saw how other peoples besides his own were met in this matter, and provided with an illumination and guidance, which they often sadly misprized (Rom. 1:19-21; 2:14, 15). And one of the things we are coming to see clearly is that, as God dealt with these, so he dealt with Israel itself. "At many times and in many ways . . . by the Prophets and then by his Son" (Heb. 1:1) he brought their intellect and conscience to the recognition and assertion of higher and wider applications of the great principles which should govern all human activities. Progress is one law of our race that never grows old, never dies, and never ceases its operations. Many a legislative enactment dies through being superseded by a better, or because men march out of sight of it, leaving it behind to perish by the wayside. Progress is the fruit of God's working in men and men's working with God.

We may now ask how the ethical code of the Bible has fared in this respect. Has it had the experience of all other codes? Or does it stand forth today as the one magnificent exception? It is no part of my present undertaking to deal with this question exhaustively. All I need do is to cite one or two instances in which Israel's ethical code has been left behind. To begin with, then, our Lord dismissed the laws of Mosaism governing divorce and the requital of injuries, and also the one touching oaths. The sanitary and land laws of Israel, good as they were upon the whole, were left behind in a body by the followers of Christ, and that in spite of the fact that the first great leaders among them were Jews. Not even circumcision was allowed to survive. For a little while blood and the flesh of strangled animals, along with foods offered in sacrifice to idols, were forbidden to Christians; but almost at once, as I have already pointed out, Paul attacked the last-named regulation, and before long they all passed into oblivion, though the word in regard to them in the beginning was, "We have, therefore, decided, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit,"

or "It seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us." At this point New Testament legislation has been dismissed along with that of the Old Testament. It is interesting to note, too, that instead of a "Thou shalt not enslave thy fellow-man" in the Decalogue, a law immediately follows that code permitting slavery under restrictions, that is to say, licensing it. Jesus never called up that license law for condemnation in the days of his flesh. His apostles, too, worked under it and other like legislation, with never a thought of its replacement by universal manumission, so far as we can tell. And no blame is due them because of this. License law is the beginning of prohibition, and those who censure it are simply out of patience with it, and perhaps not too soon, because it is not also the end. Yet after much painful toil Christendom climbed at length to the place where, so far as she herself is concerned, she left behind and below her, not only that law itself, but also all Paul's and Peter's inspired regulations for Christian slaves and their Christian masters. Every intelligent man knows these things, and knowing them believes, whether he realizes it or not, that some portions of the ethical code of the New Testament, as well as of the Old, were never adopted to be permanent.

I may now deal with the other question which I have undertaken to discuss. Is the ethical code of the Bible complete? In other words, does it provide for every phase of human activity that has called, or will call, for righteous legislative control?

In answering the first question I have also answered this, but not pointedly. I shall, therefore, proceed to deal with it specifically, with the aid of two illustrative instances. At the Anglican Synod in New Brunswick, recently, one of the rural deans took issue with the bishop on the question of the prohibition of the liquor traffic, grounding his argument upon the fact that this traffic comes in for no condemnation in the New Testament. We must confess that the rural dean was correct in this premise of his argument, and, as I have already pointed out, he might, with perfect truthfulness have added that the New Testament is equally deficient when we come to the institution of slavery. Nevertheless the modern command, "Thou shalt not enslave thy fellow," is felt today to be quite as sacred and binding as "Thou shalt not steal" or "Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbor." Besides this, all who are even fairly

read in the history of the struggle against slavery as an institution know how the Bible was used by the pro-slavery advocates in its favor. Their argument was that an institution which the Bible licensed could never be sanely regarded as marked out by God for destruction. The thing they did not know was that God did not complete his work as lawgiver in Bible times, but was working still through the intellects and consciences of his own, toward the annihilation of every institution and habit which is opposed to the highest welfare of our race. The rural dean in Fredericton was walking in a like darkness. And when one of the lay members of the Synod retorted that he did not care whether the Scott or Canada Temperance Act was in the Bible or not, he showed his faith in the fact that God is guiding our civilization today as really as he guided either Israel or the Christian church at the beginning. One need only add that when at length Christendom, as a whole, finds itself living under an ethical code, one of the most recent additions to which will be "Thou shalt sell no intoxicating beverage," all the truly enlightened will rejoice together that this command also came from God in the same general manner as those previously received by our race, and that others will follow as they are needed.

That the Bible contains all truth necessary for the salvation of the soul can be accepted gladly. It may also be affirmed with the utmost confidence, that it far surpasses all other ancient writings in the richness and variety of its ethical precepts, and that the New Testament is unique in the emphasis which it lays upon love as the great governing principle in all right conduct, and the very heart of every righteous disposition. This, however, is a very different thing from the claim that it contains an ethical code lofty enough and complete enough for the guidance in all things of the highest Christian civilization; for this claim virtually denies God's immutable law of progress, and a host of incontestable facts besides.

In regard to those fresh additions to our ethical code, which we need from time to time to guide us in connection with the various phases of our advancing civilization, and which represent a righteousness too large to have been set forth by any seer or apostle of the older time, we need entertain no worries. God himself takes care of these, and they always come to us when the time is ripe, like the morning



sun when he breaks through black thunder clouds to bless us with his beams. On the other hand, the problem how we may decide as to precisely what is permanent, and what merely temporary, in the ethical code of the book we love most, is not an easy one. Mistakes have been made and will continue to be made here. Still we have, as qualified to hearten us for this task, every divine fact which God has been able to place within the range of our limited vision. The Christ life looms larger as the years pass. Those perfect religious and moral principles, consisting of "the first of all the commandments . . . and the second," are still with us. On our lips is the word Immanuel, and, whether we realize it or not, God himself, with all his righteousness, his wisdom, and his love, enswathes and possesses us, as the very life of our life.

When modern science was born some men were pagan enough to think that it had proved that, after his work of creation, God either emptied himself out of the physical universe, to give free play to a certain set of physical laws, or stayed on only to play the poor part of an observer. Theologians helped to overthrow that notion, but some of the theologians themselves still cling to an old notion of their own that, after God had got himself seers and lawgivers from among a small, but wonderful family of Asiatics, that was, through the longer portion of the period both idolatrous and corrupt, and so blind and rebellious at its close, that it had to be scourged out of its territories and chased to the ends of the earth, he retired from his active government of men, leaving them as their sole and sufficient written guide to the end, only the ethical code given them through these same splendid old-time Asiatics. It is well for us that these Asiatics themselves entertained no such idea, and that we are beginning to understand our Christ and his apostles at this point. To be without God in the world, even when one has him in the church, is to live as a pagan, and usually as a pessimist, with no large and worthy hopes. But the new day has dawned.

## STUDIES IN THE PSALTER<sup>1</sup>

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In the preceding article it was shown that the question of the dates of the psalms is peculiarly difficult because the Psalter, as a hymn-book, was especially exposed to revision. But the third quality of the Psalter still further complicates the question.

Hymns are usually more concerned with inner experiences than with outward conditions. Their allusions to contemporary history are, with rare exceptions, incidental. Their subject is the soul, not society. The hymns of Watts are again an interesting illustration of this fact. In the one hundred and seventy hymns of Book II of his *Hymns and Spiritual Songs* I venture to say, apart from their language and theological ideas, there are scarcely a dozen references which would furnish a critic with clues for dating them.

The line "Swift as an Indian arrow flies" would imply a time after the discovery of America. Two allusions to the rack and two express allusions to the papists and Rome (Hymns 37 and 64) would imply a date after the Protestant Reformation had begun. Hymn 70, entitled "God's Dominion over the Sea," in which three stanzas are devoted to the profane lives of sailors, might suggest that the author lived at a seaport town, a conjecture corroborated by the fact that the majority of these hymns and spiritual songs were written while Watts was living at Southampton (1694-96). A reference to "circling the globe around from England to Japan" and another to "the Turkish Paradise" do not help us very much. There remain three hymns that a historian would study with great care. The first (No. 1) is called "A Song of Praise to God from Great Britain." This hymn has nothing but generalizations though it would seem to be a time of prosperity after war. The "God of war" is referred to who

<sup>1</sup> Continued from the September issue of the *Biblical World*.

"Shakes an aspiring tyrant down" and also the "northern isle" which "Lies safe in God the Almighty's hand." The second (No. 111) is entitled "Thanksgiving for Victory." Four of the stanzas are again only generalizations. For example Stanza 3 reads:

He reigns upon the eternal hills,  
Distributes mortal crowns;  
Empires are fixed beneath his smile  
And totter at his frowns.

But the next stanzas are more promising:

Navies that rule the ocean wide,  
Are vanquished by his breath;  
And legions armed with power and pride,  
Descend to watery death.  
  
Let tyrants make no more pretence,  
To vex our happy land;  
Jehovah's name is our defence,  
Our buckler is at hand.

The first of these stanzas might refer to the Armada or to Trafalgar, or to any one of a dozen British naval victories. But if we know *on independent grounds* that this collection of hymns was first published in 1707-09 and that the majority of the hymns contained in it were composed 1694-96, we are probably to explain the naval victory as referring to the battle of La Hogue and to identify the *tyrants* with the Jacobites. The hymn on internal grounds might then be assigned to 1696 after the conquest of Namur by William III or to the close of the war after the Peace of Ryswick, 1697.

The third hymn (No. 92) entitled "The Church Saved and Her Enemies Disappointed" has, in addition, the historical notice "Composed the 5th of November, 1694." This is encouraging. We would naturally expect some definite, concrete allusion. But in the eight stanzas of the hymn the only possible reflection of a contemporary event is found in the fifth and sixth stanzas:

Their secret fires in caverns lay,  
And we the sacrifice;  
But gloomy caverns strove in vain,  
To 'scape all-searching eyes.



Their dark designs were all revealed,  
Their treasons all betrayed;  
Praise to the God that broke the snare,  
Their cursèd hands had laid.

This looks as if the author had a distinct event in mind, and the two stanzas are in "crotchets," which suggest the same thing. If we did not know who wrote the poem or its date, these stanzas could be interpreted of the Gun-Powder Plot! But with the date given, it would seem easy enough to identify the event. Yet I have looked through the chief events of 1694 and have been able to find nothing to correspond to these lines. In February, 1696, there did occur the great Jacobite "Assassination Plot" against King William to which the stanzas would very naturally refer if it were not for the date at the head of the hymn.

The above examples practically exhaust the possible allusions which would help to fix the dates of these one hundred and seventy hymns. The hymns are hymns of inner experience and therefore, so far as their allusions are concerned, timeless. If the author were unknown, the critic would have to fall back on the language and theology of the hymns and their first appearance in the literature of hymnology in order to determine their date.

One more example of a famous hymn may be given. What was the historical occasion of "Ein' feste Burg"? The instinctive answer is: the Diet of Worms, 1521. This is almost impossible, however, for, as Julian points out, the hymn does not appear in the collection of Luther's hymns of 1524. But it could hardly have been omitted, if it had been in existence. It has also been assigned to the time of the Diet of Augsburg, 1530, but the probability seems to be that it was written in 1529 in connection with the Diet of Speyer when the German princes made the famous protest which was the origin of the name Protestants. The hymn itself seems to echo a great and stirring crisis in its trumpet notes, but beyond this general character it is timeless.

These illustrations serve to show how difficult a thing it is to date a hymn. Concrete experiences and events are usually generalized or idealized into types. They then become vague and illusive as historical criteria. We must accordingly expect to

find the historical background of the Psalter more or less vague and enigmatic and capable of a variety of interpretations. The question might even be asked: Can we hope to do anything at all toward fixing the dates of the individual psalms? If it is so difficult to fix the date of "Ein' feste Burg," is it not impossible, to take but one example, to fix the date of Ps. 46 upon which Luther's hymn is based?

Yet this is not an altogether fair formulation of the problem. In the first place it is not the part of wisdom to attempt to date the psalms exactly according to the year or even the decade, except possibly in a few cases. We must be content if we can assign them with probability to a general period, pre-exilic, Persian, Greek, Maccabean. In the case of Watts's hymns or Luther's it would not be difficult to decide that they were Reformation or post-Reformation. But the Exile was as great a crisis relatively in the history of Jewish political and religious life and thought as was the Reformation in the history of the politico-religious development of the Christian church. It may be found, therefore, that we can decide with considerable assurance whether a psalm is pre-exilic or post-exilic, even if we may not be able to date it more closely. It is at this point that the history of religious ideas furnishes such important criteria, and for that reason the critical assumptions with which we start as to the date and meaning of the rest of the Old Testament literature will very largely control our conclusions.

Again we may be able to make some deductions as to the dates of the psalms from our knowledge of the history of the collection in which they stand. We have seen in the case of one of Watts's hymns that a knowledge of the history of the collection of which it forms a part enables us to date it with considerable probability.

Lastly there is one very important point at which the analogy between a hymn-book such as that of Watts and the Jewish Psalter breaks down to a considerable degree. The religion of Watts's hymns is the religion of the individual. The experiences reflected in them are almost wholly individual experiences. This is not true of the Psalter, at least to anything like the same degree. How far individual experiences enter at all into the psalms is a

problem the discussion of which I do not wish to anticipate at this point. But there are many psalms in which the community interest is undoubtedly uppermost (e.g., Pss. 44, 79, 80, 83, etc.). In such psalms actual political situations are referred to, even though it be in general terms, and it is by no means a hopeless task to attempt to identify them more nearly.

Thus far I have tried to point out the far-reaching literary and critical significance of the very simple statement that the Book of Psalms is a hymn-book. We have seen (1) that it is a book in which the religious interest dominates over the literary and artistic interest; (2) that it has been subjected to frequent redactions; and (3) that the historical background of the psalms will probably be found to be vague. The second and third points greatly complicate the investigation of the origin of the psalms, but the importance of the chronology of the psalms to an understanding of the development of the piety and religious thought of Judaism is so great, that, in spite of its difficulty, the attempt must be made to discuss it. As a preliminary to the discussion of the origin and date of the individual psalms is the investigation of the origin and date of the collection. In this connection the form of the Psalter must first be described, and to this description we will now address ourselves.

#### THE FORM OF THE PSALTER

In our present hymn-book there are 150 psalms. This is an artificial number, as it is obtained by an artificial method of numbering. We have already seen that the two pairs, Pss. 9 and 10 and Pss. 42 and 43, were each originally one psalm. The LXX has the same number<sup>1</sup> but it reaches it by a different process. Pss. 9 and 10 are properly united and also Pss. 114 and 115, but Pss. 116 and 147 are divided into two each. It is evident that there was a desire to preserve the number 150 because of some significance which was attached to it. It is quite possible that this number is related to the 154 sections into which the Law was divided in the Palestinian lectionaries. This conjecture is supported by our next observation.

<sup>1</sup> The LXX has an extra psalm (Ps. 151) but the title distinctly says that this is "outside the number." "Outside" was the technical term among the Jews for uncanonical books.



These 150 psalms are grouped into five books.<sup>2</sup> This also is an artificial division. While good reasons can be seen for the separation of the first three books from each other and from the last two (*vide infra*), there is no good reason discoverable for the separation of Book IV from Book V except the desire to reach the number five. Pss. 105-107 in form and subject are intimately connected, and a division after Ps. 106 is unjustifiable. The fivefold division is without doubt related to the fivefold division of the Law (the Pentateuch). Thus the Midrash, or Jewish commentary on the Psalter, says at Ps. 1: "Moses gave the Israelites the five books of the Law and David gave the Israelites the five books of the Psalms."<sup>3</sup> The Midrash, it is true, is not earlier than the tenth century A.D., but the tradition it gives is ancient. It was already known to Jerome, who was well acquainted with the Jewish traditions as to the Scriptures, and it was probably known to Hippolytus. It would therefore seem that both the division into 150 psalms and into five books is an artificial division intended to bring David into agreement with Moses.

But while the fivefold division is artificial, there are not wanting indications of an earlier threefold division which has an inherent justification and which is of great value as a clue to the growth of the Psalter as a collection. Our most important datum in this regard is the *Elohim redaction* of a certain group of psalms (Pss. 42-83), comprising the Korah, Davidic, and Asaph psalms of Books II and III. The distribution of the names Jehovah and Elohim in the various books makes this redaction evident. The statistics are as follows:

Book I. Jehovah occurs 272 times, Elohim 15 times.

Book IV. Jehovah occurs 103 times, Elohim 0 times.

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|----------------------|--|
| Book I, Pss. 1-41    | { Pss. 1 and 2, anonymous.<br>Pss. 3-41, Davidic, except Pss. 10, 33.                      |
| Book II, Pss. 42-72  | { Pss. 42-49, Korah.<br>Ps. 50, Asaph.<br>Pss. 51-72, Davidic, except Pss. 66, 67, 71, 72. |
| Book III, Pss. 73-89 | { Pss. 73-83, Asaph.<br>Pss. 84-89, chiefly Korah.   |
| Book IV, Pss. 90-106 | (anonymous, except Pss. 90, 101, 103).   |
| Book V, Pss. 107-50  | (miscellaneous).   |

<sup>3</sup> Midrasch Tehillim, Wünsche's translation, p. 2.

Book V. Jehovah occurs 236 times, Elohim 7 times (5 in Ps. 108).

Book II. Jehovah occurs 30 times, Elohim 164 times.

Book III (Ps. 73-83). Jehovah occurs 13 times, Elohim 36 times.

Book III (Ps. 84-89). Jehovah occurs 31 times, Elohim 7 times.<sup>4</sup>

It is clear that this singular limitation of the use of Elohim to Books II and III is not accidental. It is purposed. But why do we speak of an Elohim *redaction*? May these Elohim psalms not be grouped together because the original authors preferred the name Elohim? This last supposition is not probable, at least in the case of many of the Elohim psalms, for there is positive evidence that Jehovah once stood in them. Thus we have seen that Ps. 53 is an Elohim redaction of Ps. 14, that 45:6, in an Elohim psalm, can only be understood when Jehovah has been substituted for it. Again at 50:7 we meet with the awkward phrase "*God thy God (Elohim thy Elohim) am I.*" A comparison with 81:10 shows that what was originally intended was: "*I am Jehovah thy God which brought thee out of the land of Egypt,*" and that the phrase is a quotation from the introduction to the Decalogue.<sup>5</sup> The very confusing "*God (Elohim) stands in the congregation of God (El)*" (82:1) must also have been originally "*Jehovah stands in the congregation of God,*" *El* being used in this connection in a special sense. Sometimes the versions prove that Jehovah was the original reading. Thus at 42:1b instead of "*God*" the Syriac and the Targum have "*Jehovah*" and similarly at 43:4b the Vatican MS of the Septuagint has "*Oh Lord my God*" which witnesses to an original Jehovah.<sup>6</sup>

When we meet with Jehovah in the Elohim psalms, it is almost always in an exegetically or metrically suspicious connection, and is probably due to later copyists after the great Elohim redaction

<sup>4</sup> These are the statistics usually given. The reader of the English Bible will, however, find God in other places which are not included in the above count. For example, there are 18 occurrences of *Elohim* in Book IV. The explanation of these differences is found in the fact that in Book IV *Elohim* ("God") never stands by itself but is always either accompanied by Jehovah which it qualifies or is itself qualified by possessive pronouns or phrases like "*the God of Jacob,*" or "*the God of Israel.*" The statistics include only those cases where *Elohim* is used independently.

<sup>5</sup> When the extra line, "*which brought thee out of the land of Egypt,*" is added to Ps. 50 7 out of 81:10 the strophical structure of Ps. 50 is also improved.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. n. 16 of the preceding article.

was completed. Thus Jehovah in 42:8 is in a verse which can be proved on independent grounds to have been glossed, as it is both metrically and exegetically out of harmony with its context.<sup>7</sup> A comparison of 46:8 with 66:5 shows that Jehovah is out of place in the Elohim Psalter. Conversely when Elohim occurs by itself in Jehovah Psalms, it attracts attention at once. This is notably the case in Ps. 108, which is grouped with Jehovah psalms and yet contains six occurrences of Elohim and only one of Jehovah.<sup>8</sup> This singularity is explained, however, when we remember that Ps. 108 is composed of the two Elohim Psalms, Pss. 57 and 60.

In view of all these facts we have every right to speak of an Elohim *redaction*. The importance of this conclusion is at once apparent. The psalms could not all have been collected and arranged in their present order at one time. On such a supposition it would be impossible to explain why just Pss. 42-83 were exposed to an Elohim redaction and the remaining psalms were left untouched. This peculiarity can be satisfactorily accounted for only on the supposition that Pss. 42-83 once stood by themselves and were therefore exposed to different influences from those to which the remaining psalms were exposed. We have thus discovered a psalter within a psalter, a distinct literary stratum in what may be called the geological formation of the book.

If, now, we search this stratum through, we will discover imbedded in it at a cleavage a very interesting editorial fossil. At 72:20, the end of Book II, we read "The prayers of David the son of Jesse are ended." What information will this fossil give us?

In the first place the editor who is responsible for this note could not have known of any of the Davidic psalms that follow after Ps. 72 in Books IV-V. The supposition of an Elohim Psalter that once existed independently at least of Books IV and V is now corroborated.

Further the author of 72:20 could not have known of Ps. 86, a Davidic psalm standing in Book III. This psalm stands in a

<sup>7</sup> The true reading probably is "Day by day prayer is with me to the God of my life." Cf. also n. 11 of the preceding article.

<sup>8</sup> It is interesting to observe that 108:3 where *Jehovah* occurs is parallel to 57:9 where *Lord* is found, which we have seen to be another substitute for Jehovah.



group of psalms (Pss. 84-89) in which the Elohim redaction largely disappears (*vide supra*). Yet this group is joined to the Elohim psalms of Book III rather than to the Jehovah psalms of Book IV. On the other hand, it contains the only Korah psalms which are found outside the Korah group (Pss. 42-49) in the Elohim Psalter. But one conclusion can be drawn from these phenomena. If the author of 72:20 is unconscious of the subsequent Davidic Psalm (Ps. 86) in the third book, if this psalm occurs in a group of psalms which has been subjected only to a slight degree to the Elohim redaction, and if this group has nevertheless been attached to the Elohist Book III rather than to the Jehovistic Book IV, the group must represent an *appendix* to the Elohim collection. The reason for its union with the Elohim Psalter is because it contains the only Korah psalms outside of the Elohim collection.

One more important deduction may be drawn from the examination of our fossil. The author of 72:20 was probably as unconscious of the Davidic psalms of Book I as he was of the Davidic psalms in the subsequent books. This deduction is based on the following considerations: (a) The Davidic psalms of Book I are sharply distinguished from the Davidic psalms of Book II by the Elohim redaction of the later group. If the two groups of Davidic psalms originally stood together in one book, why should Jehovah be consistently retained in one of these groups and as consistently eliminated from the other. No satisfactory answer can be given to this question. (b) The difficulty becomes even more apparent when it is remembered that at least in one case we are dealing with the same psalm in two redactions. Why should Ps. 14 alone of all the Davidic Jehovah psalms of Book I be subjected to an Elohim redaction? Again it is impossible to explain this phenomenon if the two Davidic collections originally stood together.<sup>9</sup> (c) Finally, if this note were meant to refer back to both groups of Davidic psalms, how did they come to be separated by the interjection of the Korah psalms (Pss. 42-49, 50)? It is most

<sup>9</sup> The fact that only Ps. 14 of the Jehovah psalms of Book I has been subjected to the Elohim redaction strongly suggests that it once stood in some other connection from which the Elohim redactor obtained it. This probable fact opens up all sorts of interesting historical perspectives.

unnatural to think of the editorial note 72:20 as leaping over Pss. 42-50 and binding together the two collections of Davidic psalms (Pss. 3-41 and 51-72).

It has been usually maintained since the time of Ewald<sup>10</sup> that the Davidic psalms of Book II (Pss. 51-72) did not always occupy their present position in the Elohim Psalter. In proof of this the anomalous position of Ps. 50 has been pointed out, an Asaph psalm separated from all its fellows (Pss. 73-83), and the disproportion in length of Book III as compared with Book II has also been noted. From these peculiarities the conclusion has been drawn that the Davidic group (Pss. 51-72) originally preceded the Korah psalms and formed the second book. If the Davidic psalms were thus transferred, Ps. 50 would come to stand immediately before the other Asaph psalms (Pss. 73-83). The Korah psalms (42-49) would also stand next to the Asaph psalms. If we further supposed that the Korah and Asaph psalms originally formed our third book we would have a beautifully logical arrangement, two books of about the same size, one representing a Davidic collection, the other a Levitical collection (Korah and Asaph).<sup>11</sup> If this speculation could be adopted Ps. 72:20 would now be found at the end of the combined collections of Davidic psalms in Book I and Book II. Yet even then it would be unsafe to infer that the author of 72:20 had the first Davidic collection in mind, because there still remain the sharp contrast in the redaction of the two groups of psalms and the fact of the duplicate Ps. 14 = Ps. 53 which show that we are dealing with two distinct collections.

As a matter of fact, however, this whole conjectural rearrangement, ingenious though it is, is without foundation. It is impossible to explain how an arrangement so natural and logical came to be broken up and the psalms finally grouped in their present

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Ewald, *Die Dichter des alten Bundes*, I, 249 ff.

<sup>11</sup> Thus: Book II, Pss. 51-72 (Davidic), Book III, (a) Pss. 42-49 (Korah), (b) Pss. 50, 73-83 (Asaph), (c) Pss. 84-89 (Korah appendix). Cornill adds the finishing touch to this symmetrical arrangement when he suggests that the Korah psalms be placed after the Asaph psalms instead of before them. In this case the Korah appendix has a better attachment to the original collection. (Cf. Cornill, *Introduction*, 402, English trans.)

anomalous positions.<sup>12</sup> It is much safer to follow the methods of present-day psychologists who have achieved such wonderful results by studying the abnormalities of the mind and accept the abnormalities of the present form of the Psalter as the starting-point of our investigations. More can be learned in this way than by attempting to rearrange the Psalter so as to avoid these instructive abnormalities. In the present case our little fossil, 72:20, has corroborated our general conclusion drawn from the Elohim redaction that the Elohim psalms once formed an independent group of psalms, but also and more particularly that Pss. 84-89 are an appendix to this collection and that the Davidic Elohim collection (Pss. 50-72) was originally distinct from the Davidic Jehovah collection in Book I (Pss. 3-41).

Having thus isolated the Elohim Psalter from the Jehovah psalms of Books I, IV, and V we have next to inquire whether these three Jehovah books originally formed one collection which has been subsequently violently disrupted by the interpolation of the Elohim Psalter. This is on general grounds very unlikely. In the first place the two groups in Book I and Books IV-V are very distinct. The homogeneous character of Book I (an almost pure Davidic collection) is in striking contrast with the heterogeneous character of Books IV-V. Again, if these three books had originally formed one collection it is difficult to see on what principle they ever became separated by the Elohim Psalter. Furthermore, if they were originally one collection, it is impossible to see why

<sup>12</sup> I have searched in vain for light on this subject. Ewald himself gives none. Driver, Duham, Cornill, Wildeboer, König, Budde are silent on the matter. Briggs does not seem to enter into the whys and wherefores of the present arrangement of the Psalter. Robertson Smith offers the only explanation that I have been able to find. According to him (*OTJC*,<sup>2</sup> p. 199), the redactor removed Pss. 51-72 from their supposed original position before the Korah-Asaph psalms to their present position in order to differentiate them more carefully from the first collection of Davidic psalms. This assumes a delicate respect for literary origins which is hardly characteristic of the period in which the Psalter was compiled. Kirkpatrick (*The Psalms*, LIV, note) is not sure of Ewald's conjecture but lamely remarks that the present arrangement is due to a "wish" of the compiler. But what is the reason for the wish? Caprice? Moreover, if the editor did have a reason for the transfer of the Davidic psalms to a position between the Korah and Asaph psalms it was not necessary to break up the Asaph collection in order to do this. The really curious thing is the position of Ps. 50, not the position of Pss. 51-72.



the Davidic psalms of Books I, IV, and V should have been separated. It is the evident intention of Book I to preserve a collection of Davidic psalms. Why, then, were not the Davidic psalms of Books IV-V included in order to make the collection complete?

Finally we meet with a whole series of new fossils in Book I which indicate that this book belongs to a different stratum from Books IV-V. I refer to the psalm-titles. These titles were not added by the original authors, as will be shown hereafter, but *belong to the redaction of the Psalter*. If it can be shown that their distribution is not accidental but that they are mainly confined to certain groups of psalms, this will indicate that the groups in which the titles occur have been subjected to different influences from those to which the psalms without titles have been exposed. The argument here is of the same nature as the argument from the peculiar distribution of the divine names. The proposition which I shall attempt to establish by this argument is that Book I on the one hand, and Books IV-V on the other, must have been subjected to different redactions, but I shall include also the statistics for Books II-III as they will enable us at the same time to make still further deductions with regard to the relationships of the Elohim Psalter. The titles contain one or more of four distinct elements: (a) the name of the author; (b) a historical notice of the occasion of the psalm; (c) the characterization of the musical nature of the psalm, whether a psalm or song or prayer; and (d) various musical and liturgical references, most of which are very obscure in meaning. If we now examine the distribution of the titles themselves and also the distribution of the various elements in them the following interesting results are obtained:

1. Of the 150 psalms 34 are without titles of any description. Of these Orphan psalms, as they are called in the Jewish tradition, Book I has 4 (Pss. 1, 3, 10, 33). Books II-III have 2 (Pss. 43, 71, both occurring in Book II). Book IV-V have 28(!).
2. Distribution of names of authors:  
 Book I has 4 anonymous psalms out of 41 (Pss. 1, 2, 10, 33; the remaining 37 are Davidic).  
 Books II-III have 4 anonymous psalms (Pss. 43, 66, 67, 71) out of 48.  
 Books IV-V have 42 anonymous psalms out of 61 (!).      Total 100

3. Distribution of historical notices:
  - Book I has 5.
  - Books II-III have 8 (all in Book II).
  - Books IV-V have 1 (Ps. 142 in Book V). Total 14
4. Distribution of musical characterizations:
  - a) *Mizmor* (Psalm):
    - Book I has 22.
    - Books II-III have 24.
    - Books IV-V have 11. Total 57
  - b) *Shir* (Song): [NOTE.—12 times connected with *Mizmor*]
    - Book I has 1 (Ps. 18).
    - Books II-III have 11.
    - Books IV-V have 2 (Pss. 92, 108, exclusive of the titles in Pss. 120-134). Total 14
  - c) *Tephillah* (Prayer):
    - Book I has 1 (Ps. 17).
    - Books II-III have 1 (Ps. 86). (Also occurs once in the subscription, Ps. 72: 20.)
    - Books IV-V have 3 (Pss. 90, 102, 142.) Total 5
  - d) *Tehillah* (Praise):
    - Book V has 1 (Ps. 145). Total 1
  - e) *Maschil* (meaning obscure. Untranslated in A.R.V.):
    - Book I has 1 (Ps. 32).
    - Books II-III have 11.
    - Books IV-V have 1 (Ps. 142). Total 13
  - f) *Michtam* (meaning obscure. Untranslated in A.R.V.):
    - Book I has 1 (Ps. 16).
    - Book II-III have 5 (Pss. 56-60 in Book II).
    - Books IV-V have 0. Total 6
  - g) *Shiggaion* (meaning obscure. Untranslated in A.R.V.):
    - Book I has 1 (Ps. 7; cf. Hab. 3: 1). Total 1

If the totals of these musical characterizations are summed up it will be found that out of 97 occurrences Book I has 27, Books II-III have 52, and Books IV-V, though containing far more psalms than the other books, have only 18. What is of more importance, of the 20 occurrences of the last three *obscure* musical characterizations Book I has 3, Books II-III have 16, and Books IV-V have only 1.

5. Distribution of the miscellaneous musical and liturgical notices:
  - a) Two titles refer to the feasts at which the psalms were sung:
    - 1) Book I, Song at the Dedication of the house (Ps. 30). Total 1
    - 2) Books IV-V, Song for the Sabbath Day (Ps. 92). Total 1
  - b) Two titles refer to the sacrifices at which the psalms were sung:

- 1) *Lehazkir* (A.R.V. "to bring to remembrance," more probably refers to the sacrifice of the Azkarah, Lev. 2:2; 6:8; Numb. 5:26)  
 Book I has 1 (Ps. 38).  
 Books II-III has 1 (Ps. 70). Total 2
- 2) *Lethodhah* ("For the thank-offering"; A.R.V., marg., correctly).  
 Books IV-V have 1 (Ps. 100). Total 1
- c) Two titles have the grammatical form of a purpose infinitive but the meaning is unknown:
- 1) *Lelamedh* (A.R.V. "to teach," but very doubtful):  
 Books II-III have 1 (Ps. 60). Total 1
- 2) *Leannoth* (untranslated in text of R.V.):  
 Books II-III have 1 (Ps. 88). Total 1
- d) Twelve titles have musical or liturgical directions whose meanings are lost to us.
- 1) Four occur only in Book I:  
*Al Nechiloth* (untranslated in A.R.V.), Ps. 5.  
*Al Ajeleth hash-Shahar* (untranslated in A.R.V.; lit., "the hind of the morning"), Ps. 22.  
*Al sheminiith* (untranslated in A.R.V.; lit., "the eighth"), Pss. 6, 12.  
*Al muth-labben* (untranslated in A.R.V. and untranslatable), Ps. 9.  
 Total 5
- 2) Five occur only in Books II-III:  
*Al shoshannim* (or *shushan*) *eduth* (untranslated in A.R.V.; lit., "lillies or lilly, a testimony"), Pss. 45, 60, 69, 80.  
*Al-Tashheth* (untranslated in A.R.V.; lit., "destroy"), Pss. 57, 58, 59, 75.  
*Al Jonath elem rehokim* (untranslated in A.R.V.; lit., possibly "the dove of the far-away terebinths"), Ps. 56.  
*Al mahalath* (untranslated in A.R.V., and probably untranslatable), Pss. 53, 88.  
*Al Alamoith* (untranslated in A.R.V.; lit., "maidens"), Ps. 46.
- 3) Three occur in both Book I and Books II-III: Total 12  
*Al Gittith* (untranslated in A.R.V., a proper name[?]. A vintage song[?]).  
 Book I has 1 (Ps. 8).  
 Books II-III have 2 (Pss. 81, 84). Total 3  
*Al (Le) Jeduthun* (regarded as a proper name in A.R.V.):  
 Book I has 1 (Ps. 39).  
 Books II-III have 2 (Pss. 62, 77). Total 3  
*Be (al) Neginnoth* ("on stringed instruments"; A.R.V., probably correctly):  
 Book I has 2 (Pss. 4, 6).  
 Books II-III have 5 (Pss. 54, 55, 61 [with *al*] 67, 76). Total 7



These twelve obscure expressions therefore occur altogether 30 times—in Book I 9 times, in Books II–III 21 times. They never occur in the last two books.<sup>13</sup>

- e) *Le Menasseach* ("for the chief musician"; A.R.V., possible, but not certain):

Book I has 19.

Books II–III have 33.

Books IV–V have 3 (1) (Pss. 109, 139, 180).

Total 55

- f) *Shir ham-Ma'aloth* ("Songs of Ascents"; A.R.V., i.e., most probably Pilgrim Songs.) These only occur in Book V, and are grouped together, Pss. 120–34.

Total 15

6. To the above terms occurring in the titles, may be added two terms which occur in the body of the psalms.

- a) *Higgaion* (untranslated in A.R.V.):

Book I has 1 (Ps. 9: 16).

Total 1

- b) *Selah* (untranslated in A.R.V.):

Book I has 17 in 9 psalms.

Books II–III have 50 in 28 psalms.

Books IV–V have 4 in 2 Psalms (Pss. 140, 143).

Total, 71 times in 39 Psalms

If we sum up all the occurrences of the musical and liturgical references exclusive of the Songs of Ascents it will be found that Book I has 75, Books II–III have 159, and Books IV–V have only 27. Of the terms of obscure meaning the last two books have almost none at all.

From the distribution of these various liturgical references combined with the distribution of the names of the authors and historical notices the conclusion seems altogether probable that

<sup>13</sup> In the above it is assumed that *al* had the same significance throughout. In our present Hebrew text it is not always spelled in the same way, especially in the case of *al tashheth*, where it is spelled like the negative and the translation would be "Destroy not." The A.R.V. translates the word regularly, except in the case of *al tashheth*, "set to," and seems to understand the following phrases as the names of melodies. I would suggest that some light might be thrown upon these obscure terms by the Sumerian and Babylonian temple hymns. These were compiled into liturgies which bore the same kind of enigmatic names. Thus we meet with liturgies entitled: *She Whose City Is Destroyed* (*tashheth* of the Hebrew psalms might originally have been a feminine), *The Crying Storm*, *The Bull to His Sanctuary*, etc. (Langdon, *Sumerian and Babylonian Hymns*, *passim*). In these same hymns we meet with the word *su-illa* or prayers of the lifting of the hands (cf. *Selah*) and also *signu* or a song to the flute (cf. *shiggaion* of Ps. 7). As we know that at least the Asaph guild of temple singers was once in Babylon (cf. Neh. 7: 44), it is very probable that they brought back with them many technical terms of the great Babylonian temple liturgies. But I am no Assyrian scholar and I offer these suggestions only with diffidence.

the psalms in Books IV-V have had a different history from the history of the psalms of the first three books. The contrast is sharpest between Books II-III and IV-V, but it is distinct enough between Book I and Books IV-V to justify the conjecture that these two groups of psalms, although both are Jehovistic, were originally independent collections. The proof from the distribution of the titles is admittedly not absolutely stringent. It is conceivable that the psalms might have been grouped as they are at present *because* of their titles, in which case the titles would be earlier than the various groups of psalms, but such a possibility is made extremely doubtful by the existence of three separate collections of Davidic psalms. Accordingly it seems safe to follow the general opinion of current criticism and accept a threefold division of the Psalter as the more original, historically conditioned division which lies back of the present fivefold division.

I. Book I, An independent Jehovistic collection of Davidic psalms.

II. Books II-III, An Elohist collection of Korah, Davidic, and Asaph psalms with a Jehovistic appendix (Pss. 84-89).

III. Books IV-V, A miscellaneous collection of Jehovistic psalms.

It will be seen that the present book-divisions correspond with the threefold division at the end of Books I and III. Can we go further in our analysis and break up these three great groups into more primitive minor groups?

[To be continued]

## THREE WARNINGS CONCERNING JESUS' SECOND COMING<sup>1</sup>

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It is a mistake to think that the gospel of social reconstruction is modern. It is as old as the Prophets. John the Baptist reiterated their message with a new emphasis on the nearness of the approaching reckoning and the necessity of repentance. At the beginning of his ministry Jesus proclaimed the same gospel. "The time is fulfilled"—the present age is at an end—"the kingdom of God is at hand"—the new order stands on the threshold—"repent ye, and believe in the gospel" (Mark 1:15). As he continued his ministry, however, other elements of the kingdom assumed greater prominence in his teaching and these notes of judgment and warning receded into the background. But they were never lost. It is as futile to try to eliminate them as to go to the opposite extreme and claim the apocalyptic and eschatological made up the whole of his gospel. All through his ministry the same notes recur again and again, until in the last week they find their climax in the so-called Eschatological Discourse (Mark 13:5-37) which, even though we admit the possibility of its interpolation, contains enough to prove that the eschatological was more than an incident in his preaching.

The early church made much of these eschatological features of Jesus' teaching. They afforded the hope which carried her triumphant throughout her darkest days. But as Christianity became the established religion of the Roman Empire, and the time of struggle and persecution passed, the hope of the kingdom faded until it became practically identical with heaven and immortality. Yet to Jewish prophet and apocalypticist, to John the Baptist and to Jesus and his followers it had been something far more than this—the realest sort of an earthly hope—of a transformed society in

<sup>1</sup> This study covers the International Uniform Sunday-School Lessons for October 2, 9, and 16.



which, as we still pray, "the will of God should be done *on earth* as it is done in heaven."

We are living amid conditions today strikingly similar to those of the Roman Empire. The church is in peace and at ease. She is more or less identified in all Christian countries with the ruling, the wealthy, and the influential classes. On the whole she is fairly well satisfied with the present order, and assumes—practically, at any rate—that it is to be permanent. She has no longer any passionate hope at least for its reformation. She fails even to understand those who, mostly outside her fold, long for something like the consummation of her own earlier cherished hope.

And yet the need for the church's protest was never greater. On the one hand against those who are content with the present condition of things, and on the other against those who, though they hope, have no higher ideal than a materialistic readjustment, that of the opposite extreme. The church's position between the two is not so different from that of Jesus between two of the parties of his time. On the one hand he was opposed by the rulers of the Jewish people, who were mostly wealthy Sadducees interested in the continuance of the present order, and on the other hand by the Zealots and other messianic circles whose hopes were grossly materialistic and national. Jesus had to preach over against the one, principles which if realized meant the downfall of these rulers along with their selfish and comfortable ideals, and against the other, a spiritual conception of the kingdom which had no place for the sword of the Zealot or the miraculously abundant tree and vine of the apocalypticist. His preaching had, therefore, to have as its purpose not only the announcement of the kingdom, but also the education of his hearers to truly spiritual ideals of what it was. And his practical applications had to take the form of warnings to *individual preparation* in the light of these principles and ideals.

We need not be surprised then to find that Jesus' specific sermon on the "last things," which we have already mentioned (Mark 13:5-37), contained parables of warning addressed to the individual. One of these, the parable of the Fig Tree, is found in all three of the Synoptic accounts (Mark 13:28-29; Matt. 24:32-33; Luke 21:29-31). But Matthew goes on after the conclusion

of the sermon proper to add five other parables and a description of the judgment which have in general the same theme (Matt. 24:37—25:46). That they were all uttered on the same occasion is doubtful. The First Evangelist is notably in the habit of collecting and arranging Christ's words in sermons of connected discourses, and they are not found at this point in the other Synoptic gospels, though variations or reminiscences of some of them do occur elsewhere.<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless we cannot but feel a certain artistic appropriateness in the Evangelist's collection and insertion of these parables of judgment and warning at the climax of Jesus' teaching, just after his discourse on his second coming, and before the seventh and last section of the gospel on his passion and death.

The last two of these parables viz., the Wise and Foolish Virgins and the Talents, and the description of the Last Judgment, sometimes classed as a parable, have been chosen by the International Committee on the Sunday-School Lessons as typical of this entire teaching. The three passages together make up the twenty-fifth chapter of Matthew. The parable of the Talents has perhaps a parallel in that of the Pounds, contained in Luke 19:11-27, but the first and third of the passages are peculiar to Matthew. It is our conviction that all three were spoken at some time or other by Jesus, in spite of the fact that a general tendency to emphasize the judgment has been observed in Matthew,<sup>3</sup> and that doubts have been entertained regarding the description of the Last Judgment.<sup>4</sup> The parables are too fresh and natural to have been invented, and the judgment scene, though exhibiting features resembling the thought and feeling of the early church, contains nothing of importance which in the light of the gospel tradition elsewhere would be impossible in Jesus' mouth.

#### THE PARABLE OF THE WISE AND FOOLISH VIRGINS

This parable is taken from the marriage customs of Jesus' day. The ten virgins are pictured as friends or companions of a bride who are gathered, perhaps at her home, to await the

<sup>2</sup> Cf. on Matt. 24:37-41 Luke 17:26, 27, 34, 35; on Matt. 24:42-44 Luke 12:39 40; on Matt. 24:45-51 Luke 12:42-46; on Matt. 25:1-13 Luke 12:35, 36; on Matt. 25:14-30 Luke 19:11-27.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. 3:12; 6:2, 5, 16; 7:24-27; 13:30, 48, 49.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Sharman, *Teaching of Jesus about the Future*, 235 f.

coming of the bridegroom, whom they expect to welcome with lamps by a festal procession. The point of the parable is that while five of the virgins had made sufficient preparation by taking with them an adequate supply of oil in case the bridegroom was detained, the other five had neglected this, and, in spite of their frantic efforts to secure oil at the last moment, suffered the discomfiture of not only losing their place in the procession, but also of being shut out from the wedding-feast itself.

The moral which Jesus intended by this story does not seem to be so much a warning to constant expectancy of his second coming in spite of its delay (as we might gather from Matthew's thrice-repeated exhortation, 24:42, 44; 25:13), but rather a warning against the foolishness of a superficial preparation for the kingdom's coming, trusting to good fortune or the preparation of the last moment, instead of such a thorough repentance and transformation of character as would prepare for any exigency.<sup>5</sup>

#### THE PARABLE OF THE TALENTS

This story seems also to have been taken from the life of Palestine in Jesus' day. Luke's account shows even greater local color than Matthew's in the suggestion that the "man going into another country" (Matt. 25:14) was "a nobleman" going "to receive for himself a kingdom" (Luke 19:12)—an almost unmistakable reference to the visits of the Herods, Archelaus and Antipas, to Rome (Josephus, *Ant.*, XVII, 9, 2 and 3; *Wars*, II, 2, 2 and 3; later also Agrippa, *Ant.*, XVIII, 6, 1 f.) in order to obtain the kingdom of their father from the Emperor Augustus.

Upon his departure this "man" or "nobleman" is described as distributing his property among his servants in proportion to their ability, in order that in his absence they may invest it for him in some profitable industry. At his return they render their accounts. The first two have doubled their lord's money, and in return their energy and faithfulness are praised and rewarded. The third, however, out of fear professedly of the severity of his master's punishment should his venture be unsuccessful, had hid his money in the earth and considered his duty now discharged by the return unimpaired of the talent intrusted to him. His

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Jülicher, *Gleichnisreden Jesu*, II, 457.



lord, however, judges otherwise and condemns the servant's slothfulness out of his own mouth, showing him how he ought at least to have deposited the money with a banker in order that his master might have secured the interest on it. The true motive for his inactivity is revealed to be laziness and timidity. Having displayed such unfaithfulness and incapability, his talent is therefore taken from him and given to the servant who has proved himself most worthy of such a trust. And while the other servants are admitted to share the joy of their lord's return, this unworthy fellow is cast out into the darkness beyond the pale of their rejoicing.

If the lesson of the first parable is the necessity of inward preparation on the part of the members of the kingdom, that of the second is faithfulness and energetic labor in the work of its prosecution. It is not enough to insist as the Pharisees did on mere negative correctness of conduct out of fear of the anger of God, but self-forgetful service and the consecration of every intrusted power and possession are required of true servants of their Lord. Though this parable may have been early interpreted of office-bearers in the church, in Christ's original intention it more probably referred to individual members of the kingdom.

#### THE LAST JUDGMENT

This is not a parable, though sometimes styled such. It is a description of the messianic judgment in which the simile of the shepherd at evening, separating his sheep from his goats, is used to illustrate the separation of the accepted from the rejected at the last day. It forms the climax of the eschatological teaching in Matthew and presents in bold concrete description what had been only hinted at in parables before.<sup>6</sup> The form of the story is taken from the Jewish apocalyptic literature, in which such descriptions of the judgment were frequent. Zahn thinks the members of the kingdom are not included in this judgment, but that "all the nations" (vs. 32) refers to the remainder of mankind, who are to be judged in accordance with their treatment of Christ's followers.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Plummer, *Commentary on Matthew*, 349.

<sup>7</sup> Das Evangelium des Matthaus, 637 f.

This decidedly unethical standard of judgment seems difficult to attribute to Jesus, and if this is the meaning of the passage then it is more likely to be an interpretation imposed on the description by the early church. It is true, we must admit that the standard of judgment here falls short of the conditions of discipleship laid down elsewhere by Jesus,<sup>8</sup> and yet Jesus might have wished to teach here, intensively, a single comprehensive lesson. To demand more would be like maintaining that the parable of the Lost Son must contain the whole of the gospel.

But what then is the lesson of the picture? It is that social service is the ultimate test of citizenship in the kingdom. Love is the kingdom's all-comprehensive law, and he who fails to exercise it toward even the least of those who are in need, is no son of the Father in heaven, who "maketh his sun to rise on the evil and the good, and sendeth rain on the just and the unjust" (Matt. 5:45). And if on the two commands, to love God and our neighbor, "hang all the law and the prophets" (Matt. 22:40), it is not surprising that Jesus should make the supreme test of the judgment this brotherly love. Surely he could not have been unaware of that which the church was so quick to observe, that "he that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, cannot love God whom he hath not seen" (I John 4:20).

These three passages thus give in vivid portraiture three warnings in view of the approaching end; to true inward preparation of spirit and life, to faithfulness and energy in service, and to love toward all who need us in any way. They are not warnings of temporary validity,<sup>9</sup> but eternal principles of the new kingdom. They are needed as much today as when Jesus spoke them. Perhaps also all of their eschatology is not outworn. We still need admonition that our wealth, our culture, our national position, our social system, our civilization are not permanent. The Christian enters his protest against them, whether consciously or not, whenever he prays after his Master "Thy kingdom come."<sup>10</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Sharman, *op. cit.*, 241.

<sup>9</sup> No "Interim-Ethik" in spite of their eschatological motive.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. the most suggestive essay by Professor Burkitt, "The Eschatological Idea in the Gospel," *Cambridge Biblical Essays*, II (1909), 195 ff.

## JESUS' LAST INTERVIEWS<sup>1</sup>

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Matthew records the interviews of Jesus with his disciples at Bethany and at the Last Supper as final before he passes to his Gethsemane struggle and his arrest (Matt. 26: 1-30). Matthew's account agrees with that of Mark. They appear to call for a placing of the Last Supper on Thursday night of Passion Week, and of the anointing of Jesus on the previous Tuesday.

### CHRONOLOGICAL DIFFICULTIES

It is certain that Christ came from his Perean ministry with the intention of observing the Passover at Jerusalem and that he made Bethany a stopping-place a few days before that event. John (12: 1) says he came there six days before the Passover.

1. John's account would seem to indicate that the Supper in Bethany followed close upon his arrival. Most commentators would put it on the Friday before Passion Week. But inasmuch as John does not name a specific day, and continuity of narrative in the account of Mark, who is equally chronological with John, seems to place it definitely two days before the Passover, there is some ground for holding to the synoptic order of events. Surely, all that takes place at the Supper finds cumulative significance in allowing the historical contents of chaps. 21-25 in Matthew to go before.

2. Matthew, Mark, and Luke say that the disciples made ready the Passover: and when the hour was come, they, together with Jesus, sat down. And Luke (22: 15) further tells us that Jesus said, "With desire I have desired to eat this Passover with you before I suffer." Thus it seems conclusive, from this combined testimony, that the Lord's Supper was instituted in connection

<sup>1</sup> This study covers the International Uniform Sunday-School Lessons for October 30 and November 6.



with the Passover. In introducing his account of the Supper, John says (13:1), "Now before the feast of the Passover." This, together with what is said (18:28) about not entering the Praetorium, has led many to believe that Jesus anticipated the Passover a day or two, for the sake of secrecy. Accepting this view, however, we are at once confronted with difficulties as serious as those we try to avoid.

With regard to John 13:1 it is to be borne in mind that the disciples were together for some time probably before the actual eating of the Passover. "Before the feast" may reasonably be referred to the feet-washing, which "occurred after they reclined for supper, but before they actually partook of the feast." And, as to John 18:28, this certainly could be very sensibly interpreted as meaning, "that they might continue to enjoy the privileges of the Paschal feast."

All admit that, at this point, there are chronological and textual perplexities to tax the learning and the skill of the most scholarly and acute. The Jewish practice of beginning and ending the day at evening time, the use of different terms for festival seasons, the massing of things in a paragraph which may not have been closely joined chronologically—these and other considerations involve the possibility of seeming contradiction. Sanday concludes, after all his study, "We must acknowledge our ignorance."

One thing is fixed. While scholars may be divided as to the day of the month, and as to the year, whether 29 or 30 A.D., there is no question as to the day of the week when the Last Supper was instituted. In this last week of his life, so crowded with events, with final teachings, with misunderstandings and conspiracies, with forebodings deepening toward the actual encounter of his doom, there are two interviews over which we are to linger and from which to look upon his character, life, and work.

#### IN BETHANY

Jesus foresaw the crisis-pressure. He was human. As he went up into the mountain to be quiet with God preparatory to great work, so he coveted the stillness of the village, at the close of those final days, and the companionship of those who loved him,

to get his soul in readiness for the great ordeal. He chose Bethany, which held the home of Lazarus, Martha, and Mary, the home that meant so much to him for its genuine hospitality, its sympathetic fellowship, its subtle interpretative appreciation. He had passed with them through the experience of a great sorrow (John 11:18-44) followed by that of victorious joy which dipped down into deep mystery. How natural to covet such a place! And this home was not the only one to give him welcome. It was probably one of a group.

Jesus had finished his public ministry. The common people had heard him gladly. The leaders had become more and more disturbed. His conceptions were too spiritual and simple. He angered the scribes and Pharisees by showing up their superficiality, their technicalities in interpretation, and argument devoid of real ethical righteousness and religious life. He infuriated the chief priests and elders by arraigning their selfish greed of place and power, thus endangering their coveted prerogatives.

Jesus had known for a long time what such a course on his part would lead to. And when he saw that the opposition was developing into malicious, deadly hostility which no reasonable conduct on his part, no ministry of love, could turn aside, he gave them those severe, sometimes scathing words of warning and condemnation recorded in the previous five chapters, reaching over to a concrete, specific prediction of the destruction of Jerusalem itself. Before he had reached Bethany, on three different occasions (Matt. 16:21; 17:22; 20:18) he had told the disciples that they would go to Jerusalem, and that he there would be crucified by these leaders. They were sorry to hear him speak in that way of himself, but evidently they did not take in the full situation. When they arrived in Bethany, he repeated what he before had stated and identified the time of his crucifixion with the near-by Passover. But they were in the midst of the process. Their eyes were seemingly holden.

He knew what was going on (Matt. 26:2-4). Months before, the chief priests had sent officers to arrest him (John 7:45-49) but they did not then dare to do it for fear of the multitude. Now, they had decided upon secret, crafty plotting. For the purpose

of avoiding their former mistake, they thought they would not try to secure him during the feast, while the populace thronged the streets. What the people might be inclined to do was shown in their spreading of branches in his way, and in the Hozanna shout, as he made his first appearance in the city at that time (Matt. 21:8, 9).

#### THE BETHANY SUPPER

One of the other homes in Bethany was opened to receive guests in his honor: the home of Simon, known among his neighbors as a leper, who evidently had been cured and possibly by Jesus himself. Here are two friendly, genial homes, the nucleus of how large a circle we do not know. We have no full picture of the scene; but at the center there must have been admiration, gratitude, and love.

One incident is selected for recital which lifts a cluster of lessons into rich significance: the uncalculating devotion of Mary, the indignant protest of the disciples at the expense of it, the commendation of the act by Jesus, and his exaltation of it into an undreamed-of holy ministry.

Matthew says, there came unto Jesus a woman having an alabaster cruse of exceeding precious ointment, and she poured it upon his head. John tells us (12:2,3) this woman was Mary, who was present with Lazarus her brother and also with Martha, who was helping serve. Mark (14:3-5) says the ointment was genuine and very costly. We find afterward that it was valued at 300 shillings, the equivalent of so many dollars; a sum amounting to what it would take a laboring man a year to earn. Here is evidence that the family of Lazarus was one of means. What leaps to the front, however, in our thinking is Mary's rich, spontaneous, uncalculating devotion. She detected his burden of heart. She knew that the rulers were against him, that enmities and hostilities were thickening fast. Oh! this good man, this wonderful teacher, this prophet of the living God, this God-character in human form! Her heart went out to him in his gathering troubles. The thought came to her, and the next thing was the deed; as there had been the anointing of royalty and of prophets and of great benefactors, she would anoint Jesus. Yes, she would anoint not only his head



but also his feet (John 12:3), adding a touch of humility to make her devotion complete. Devout love bent on giving itself without figuring up the cost!

How did the others look at it? Some of the disciples were indignant. They exclaimed, "What a waste! It might have been sold and given to the poor." Apparently they were murmuring among themselves. John particularizes Judas as protesting, and charges that his protest has back of it the motive of greed and theft (12:6). Undoubtedly the most of them were not sordid, but conscientious in their estimate of this seeming extravagance. Had not the Master said, a little before, "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren ye have done it unto me"? Was not the world's need then calling for help? There is, indeed, a moral obligation to figure costs and make comparison. But there is a law, then working in Mary's heart, which sometimes must have right of way.

When Jesus perceived what was troubling them, he said, "Let her alone; she hath wrought a good work upon me." That spontaneous, uncalculating devotion of hers came to him in a crucial moment. His human nature was yearning for a sympathetic atmosphere of fellowship. Two days later he would ask his disciples to keep awake and watch with him for an hour. It was the same longing farther on. There are times when the cost of a journey is not to be taken into account if, at the end of the journey, one can put his heart close to a heart that is being crushed. She wrought a beautiful deed. The motive made it radiant, put it altogether out of the cash-value class. She knew what it meant to her; she did not know what it meant to him. He said, "she hath done what she could; really she has prepared me for my burial." He exalted that beautiful, whole-souled service into an undreamed-of holy ministry.

#### THE LAST SUPPER

On Wednesday Jesus remained in the quiet of Bethany. Judas, the one disciple whose disappointment was deepening into treachery, used the day to bargain with the chief priests for the betrayal.

On Thursday, Passover Day, the first of the "Feast of Unleav-

ened Bread," Jesus sent some of his disciples to Jerusalem to make ready the Passover. There appears to be a secret understanding on the part of Christ with some friend who would reserve a room in his house for that purpose. Evidently Jesus wished concealment, at least security, until after this last supper. The disciples take a lamb to the Temple for sacrifice, according to custom, about 3 P.M. Then they return, roast the flesh with bitter herbs, and prepare the bread and wine.

As sunset draws near, the disciples are all there. How long before the precise time for actually partaking of the Passover supper we do not know. Matthew passes at once, after it is made ready, to the sitting at meat; but Luke (22:24-30) as if in interruption, introduces a discussion among the disciples as to who should be considered great, or possibly who should take precedence at the table. And John (13:2-20) introduces still another intermediate episode, certainly not irrelevant to what has just been noted. After once reclining, Jesus is represented as rising and giving them a lesson in humility, bending down and washing the disciples' feet.

Now the Passover Feast. It was originally established as a memorial of deliverance out of bondage; escape from calamity (Exod. 12:1-14). Jesus had said, "With desire have I desired to eat this Passover with you before I suffer." His suffering, into the depths of which he was then sinking, came in upon him like a flood. In addition to the misunderstanding and indifference of the great world, in addition to the hostility of rulers nursing deadly hate, and the treachery which would make a joining with that hate sitting there at the table where he sat, in addition to that, while he is preparing for sacrifice, he must quiet the disputatious selfishness of the disciples with whom he is to leave the finish of his work. That is the cruelty of suffering, to realize that into the deepest gloom, sometimes, the inconsiderateness of those he counted on thrust an added quiver and a deeper chill. Oh for a Mary to break her costly alabaster!

But, come what would, "having loved his own he loved them to the end." One thing he wished to do, and with it seal all that he had done before: he wished to make the old Passover emerge

into a memorial supper of the new régime of the kingdom of God. He wanted, after all was over, to leave a memorial for them to look back upon and learn afresh the fathomless deeps of life's need and the sacrificing service which must meet them away out beyond the region of cash-value calculations.

While partaking of the Passover, Jesus said, "One of you shall betray me." Possibly he alluded to this act that he might sift the traitor from the company. Sorrow fell upon the group and they began saying, "It is not I, Lord, is it?" The Master replied, "Good were it for that man if he had not been born." In response to Judas catching up the query of the company, Jesus made reply, "Thou sayest it." "This might be an ambiguous affirmative to any who overheard," but to the traitor himself a disclosure that he was fully understood. John (13:24-26) represents Peter as beckoning to one next to the Master to find out who it was that he meant; and says that Jesus indicated the man by dipping the sop and giving it to him. Then Jesus said to Judas, "That thou doest, do quickly." It is impossible to enter into the exact situation and know and feel the social complex of the moment. It cannot be that the company actually knew what Judas was about to do. John says (13:28) "No man at the table knew for what intent he spake this unto him." But Judas went out into the night.

Then Jesus, in the presence of the eleven remaining, instituted what we call the Lord's Supper. He took a loaf of the Passover bread, gave thanks, brake, gave to his disciples, saying, "Take, eat; this is my body." In like manner he took a cup, saying, "Drink ye all of it; for this is my blood of the covenant, which is shed for many unto the remission of sins." He had been observing a Jewish, historic festival. Now he passes to institute a symbolic memorial of the personal relationship between himself and themselves as his disciples. His body is soon to be broken. His blood is to be shed. He is to make a sacrifice which shall throw a culminating luminous glow on all other acts and ideas of sacrifice.

Surely, anyone who remembers such expressions as "I am the door," "I am the way," could not reasonably think that he was expecting these parting words of his to be taken literally. Rather,



this represents my body; this represents my blood; and back of both, the self-sacrifice of a life that loves totally and to the end. He borrowed his covenant phraseology from the institution of the Law (Exod. 24:8). And now he is to seal the new covenant (Jer. 31:31-35) of the kingdom with his own blood. Luke gives the added phrase, "Do this in remembrance of me" (22:19); and we know from I Cor. 11:25 that the memorial idea was seized upon and kept in precious remembrance and practice in the earliest days, a memorial that belonged to the entire discipleship.

We are to look upon it, therefore, as a memorial antedating all church organization, standing back there, before ecclesiastical shibboleths began to be spoken and on an equal primal footing with the inalienable right to believe.

They sang together a part of "the great Hallel" (Psalms 115-118). They went out together unto the Mount of Olives; but Jesus, though in their company, left more and more to himself, took his lonely way to Gethsemane and the Cross.

## Book Reviews

**A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Genesis.** ["The International Critical Commentary"]. By JOHN SKINNER. New York: Scribner, 1910. lxxxvii+551 pages. \$3.

This volume supplies the English reader with a full exegetical apparatus for the study of the Book of Genesis, something heretofore lacking in the English language. Its method and character are known to those familiar with the series to which it belongs. It does not seek to supersede the excellent commentaries of Driver and Bennett, which will remain indispensable for the biblical public in general, but it does provide competent guidance for the scholar. It reflects the influence of German scholarship more than does Driver, and this is a great gain for the study of Genesis. Gunkel's valuable study of the character of the myths and legends in Genesis has largely shaped the author's conclusions in this field. It is interesting to note that Dr. Skinner is inclined toward the theory that the patriarchal narratives have to do with real persons rather than with mere tribal personifications. His criticism of this latter view is keen and judicial. With reference to the much-vaunted contribution of archaeology to the support of the historical character of the Genesis stories, Dr. Skinner says, "On the whole it must be said that archaeology has in this region created more problems than it has solved." In this judgment Professor Driver fully concurs, notwithstanding the claims of Sayce, Hommel, Orr, Wiener, *et al.* Our author likewise offers a very careful and thorough refutation of the argument recently brought forward by Klostermann, Redpath, Wiener, *et al.*, against the critical analysis of the Pentateuch upon the basis of the interchange of the names Jehovah and Elohim, showing that this is only a small fraction of the argument for the analysis as a whole, that the divergences between the Septuagint and the Hebrew transmission of these names are *proportionately* few, and that the possibility of error was naturally far greater in the Septuagint than in the Hebrew.

In the last five or six years the labors of the pan-Babylonian scholars represented especially by Winckler and Jeremias; of Cheyne in connection with his propagation of the Jerahmeel hypothesis (especially in *Traditions and Beliefs of Ancient Israel*); and of Eerdmans in his effort to show the current literary analysis of the Hexateuch to be untenable have brought forward many new questions and varying points of view. Dr. Skinner shows himself thoroughly conversant with all these newer

studies, and furnishes cogent and convincing evidence that the essential characteristics and results of the work of the past generation of scholarship are abiding. The literary analysis of the Pentateuch and the historical method through which it has been wrought out are in the field to stay.

Both introduction and commentary proper reveal the author's complete familiarity with the immense literature concerning itself with Genesis and his ability to stand upon his own feet and render judgment in accordance with the evidence. This commentary places Dr. Skinner in the foremost ranks of biblical scholarship, evincing as it does a wide range of information, clearness of vision, facility of expression, an ability to enter into the spirit of a narrative sympathetically, and well-balanced judgment. A good example of this latter quality is Dr. Skinner's skepticism concerning the success of Sievers' recent attempt to reconstruct the entire book of Genesis on the basis of metrical considerations (p. xxxii).

The proofreading has been well done; in a work where the possibilities of error in the citations of literature and the spelling of foreign words are so numerous the proportion of errors is surprisingly small. On p. xx, line 4, read "Akademie"; on p. xx, line 10, read "Orientalistische"; on p. xlv, line 8 from below, read "Geschichten." On p. 338, line 5 from below, occurs the distinctively English blunder "exhorbitant."

JOHN MERLIN POWIS SMITH

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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**The Books of Chronicles.** ["The International Critical Commentary."] By EDWARD LEWIS CURTIS, PH.D., D.D., AND ALBERT ALONZO MADSEN, PH.D. New York: Scribner, 1910. xxii+534 pages. \$3 net.

The Books of Chronicles may be regarded among the books of the Bible as of only secondary importance. They were composed or compiled at a late period, far from the times to which the events are assigned, and to accomplish a specific purpose in that late period. Such a production would have inherent difficulties of its own, aside from the character of the material which would be embodied in it. The authors of this volume take up some of the questions of the Books of Chronicles and dispose of them in the Introduction, which, by the way, seems too short—only 54 pages—for the knotty problems that beset every student or expositor of the text. Among the nine sections of the Introduction, two or three deserve attention, not because they are of



doubtful character, but for the reason that they give the basis on which the commentary is built up.

The Books of Chronicles and Ezra and Nehemiah are referred, on the very best of evidence (pp. 3-5), to a common author, who composed or compiled his books not earlier than 300 B.C., and possibly as late as 200 B.C. His plan was to give "a history of the kingdom of Judah from the enthronement of David to the fall of Jerusalem" (p. 6). In the coloring of the text the author shows himself to be of the same school as the author of the Priest's Code. With him he everywhere magnifies the ministry of the sanctuary, and delights in statistics and in large numbers. Thus the history, if such it may be called, is written entirely from the point of view of the Priest's legislation, and is therefore a supplement to First and Second Samuel and First and Second Kings. The Book of Judges is the last of the priestly history of the earlier books.

In his purpose the author omits many things given in Kings, as discreditable to Judah's rulers, and paints in brilliant colors the Godlike and pious traits of its noble kings. Chronicles therefore is a kind of reconstructed history of the kingdom of Judah. With all the best authorities we must conclude that it was a tendency-writing, that it omitted, expanded, and adapted events in the interest of the later institutions of post-exilic Judaism.

The main religious value of Chronicles is found "in the emphasis given to the institutional forms of religion."

The main source of the work of the Chronicler was the material in Samuel and Kings, together with some material from several other canonical books. Curtis maintains that he used these books and not their sources for all matter common to both works. And still he concedes that there is some material (I Chron. 11:41b-47) not found in the canonical books. To substantiate this proposition he must rather explain away the more than a score of references which the Chronicler makes to other sources. Some of these explications are entirely plausible and probably sufficient; others (bottom p. 22) look too much like special pleading to win the case. If the proposition were granted in full just as claimed, we should then have no difficulty in drawing a sharp line between the Chronicler's canonical sources and the embellishments with which he made his history reflect the character of his times.

The treatment of the Hebrew Text and Versions is strictly up-to-date in method and processes. The literature is very full and complete and the indexes are ample as finding lists. The commentary proper

follows the method of the series. It is a sane and sensible book, eminently worthy of a place in this notable series.

IRA MAURICE PRICE

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**The Synoptic Gospels Arranged in Parallel Columns.** By J. M. THOMPSON. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1910. xxvii+161 pages. \$2.50.

Mr. Thompson's conspectus of the Synoptic Gospels is not designed for historical study. Its method is almost mechanical. The Gospel of Mark is printed, chapter after chapter, in the first column of Part I, with the corresponding parts of Matthew and of Luke over against it in the second and third columns respectively, while any duplicate correspondences of either with Mark are set out in a fourth. The comparison of the material of each evangelist is greatly facilitated by the careful arrangement of it in clauses, so that the eye easily catches the extent of the resemblance. Words and clauses peculiar to one evangelist are printed in italics. Part II presents those parts of Matthew which have not been included in Part I, with their Lukan parallels, when there are such, beside them, and Part III does the same with Luke, presenting in order those parts of it which have not been shown in Part I. The volume is therefore a clear, objective exhibit of synoptic phenomena, uncontrolled by any specific theory of the synoptic problem. The painstaking equating of the text, clause by clause, gives it in this respect a marked advantage over other synoptic harmonies. If anyone still doubts the use of Mark by Matthew and Luke, he should study Mr. Thompson's pages. For historical uses the book is not designed; nor is it a contribution to the synoptic problem. But for English readers the parallel narratives and discourses of the Synoptists are here most conveniently shown. The text is that of the English revision.

EDGAR J. GOODSPEED

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**The Sermons, Epistles and Apocalypses of Israel's Prophets.**

From the Beginning of the Assyrian Period to the End of the Maccabean Struggle. [The Student's Old Testament.] By CHARLES FOSTER KENT. New York: Scribner, 1910. xxv+516 pages. \$2.75 net.

The Student's *Old Testament* has already established its reputation as a work prepared distinctly for students. This present volume fully

justifies that fame. Its specific province is that of the prophetic utterances bounded on the *a quo* side by "the beginning of the Assyrian period" (Amos), and at the *ad quem* terminus by "the end of the Maccabean struggle." Within these two limits we find all the written prophecies of the Old Testament. Kent divides them into the prophets (1) of the Assyrian period; (2) of Judah's decline; (3) of the Exile; (4) of the Persian period; and (5) of the Greek and Maccabean period. These prophecies are preceded by an introduction of 58 pages in which the author discusses in a familiar way the theme of prophecy in and outside of Israel, the historic situation in brief, and some of the literary problems that confront a reader of the prophets. The whole is concluded by an appendix of bibliography of the Old Testament prophets.

Now turning to the text itself we discern several characteristics. These original documents are given in translation of the author, and the original or secondary value of them is indicated by typographical forms, such as dark-faced type, capitals, italics, etc. The material is split into sections running continuously through the book. The poetical form is presented, and the margin gives the pith of its accompanying section. One of the best features of each page is the profusion of footnotes. These are explanatory, textual, and occasionally analytical and historical. They are a kind of condensed commentary.

Kent makes his acknowledgment mainly to Duhm, Cheyne, Marti, Cornill, Toy, and Torrey as the authorities upon whom he most leaned in the task of compiling these prophetic utterances.

There would be little discussion about the location of most of the material or about what should be included in that of the prophets. It strikes us rather strangely to find Daniel (p. 423) included in such company as is here assembled. Nor are we prepared to greet Isa. 56:9—57:13 (p. 382) well down in the Persian period in close proximity to Obadiah (p. 399). Zech., 9-14 (pp. 453-63) is treated as belonging to the same (Maccabean) period.

Nevertheless the work has a real value for those who wish to know the latest critical utterances on the prophets by the progressive scholarship of today, and to read these same messages in a proposed chronological order. The author has done a prodigious amount of work on the book and added another useful tool to the study of the prophets of the Old Testament.

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## New Literature

The most important books listed in these columns will receive notice in the book-review pages.

### OLD TESTAMENT

#### BOOKS

- CORNELY, R. *Historicae et criticae Introductionis in V-T. libros sacros Compendium s. theologiae auditoribus accommodatum.* 6th ed. revised and completed by Mr. Hagen. Paris: Lethielleux, 1909. Pp. xv+712.
- KNABENBAUER, J. *Commentarius in Proverbia. Cum appendice "de arte rhythmica Hebraeorum," auctore F. Zorell.* Paris: Lethielleux, 1910. Pp. 271.
- CORNELY, R. *Commentarius in librum Sapientiae. Opus postumum edidit F. Zorell.* Paris: Lethielleux, 1910. Pp. iv+614.

The three books here listed are from two well-known scholars of the Roman Catholic communion. They are all three dedicated to Pope Pius X and bear the stamp of the church's official approval. From the point of view of the Catholic hierarchy concerning scholarship, these volumes measure up to the required standard. They display much learning and are the fruit of diligent research. The positions taken with reference to disputed questions of date, authorship, unity, etc., are of course the traditional views indorsed by the church. The Wisdom of Solomon is a work wrought out by a Hellenistic Jew on the basis of fragments of Solomon's wisdom which had survived and were in his possession. The Book of Proverbs is essentially the work of Solomon, but allowance must be made for some modification in the way of later accretions. The Pentateuch is a product of the hand of Moses himself; the whole book of Isaiah is a unit and belongs to Isaiah of the eighth century B.C. The Book of Tobit is to be taken as literal history. The conclusions in the realm of New Testament scholarship are equally unscathed by the fire of modern historical criticism.

#### ARTICLES

- SMITH, H. P. Old Testament Ideals, *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. XXIX, 1-20.

The Presidential Address given before the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis at the annual meeting last December. The interplay of the prophets' ideal, viz., the righteous God requires righteousness, and the priests' ideal, viz., the holy God requires holiness, is outlined in an interesting discussion.

- MONTGOMERY, J. A. The Dedication Feast in the Old Testament. *Ibid.*, 29-40.

This article attempts to make "a plausible argument for the celebration in early times of a dedication festival of the temple." The considerations urged, aside from the recorded festivals in connection with the completion of Solomon's temple and of Zerubbabel's temple, are found chiefly in the proposed explanation of Pss. 24 and 68 as having arisen in connection with a regularly established feast of dedication.

- SCHMIDT, N. Kadesh Barnea. *Ibid.*, 61-83.

This study, with its twelve pages of photographs and map, gives a detailed description of 'Ain Kdès as it is today, showing clearly that Henry Clay Trumbull's description of the place was somewhat too imaginative. Schmidt inclines to the view that Kadesh Barnea is to be sought at 'Ain Kdérât rather than at 'Ain Kdès, the "tell" being much more impressive, the water more abundant, and the vegetation more luxurious at the former place than at the latter.

COOK S. A. Notes on the Old Canaanite Religion. *The Expositor*, August, 1910, pp. 111-27.

A suggestive presentation of certain phases of the religion of the Canaanites, with emphasis laid upon the complex character of that religion and the consequent necessity of thorough investigation and discriminating judgment.

LANGDON, S. Relations between Canaan and Babylonia in the Hammurabi Period. *Ibid.*, pp. 128-47.

This article aims to furnish support for the Biblical story of Abraham and his times. It abounds in hypotheses concerning linguistic, historical, and religious problems. Among others, a new ancestor of Jehovah is brought forward in the Babylonian god Ishkur, who is given credit for furnishing Jehovah with his original character.

## NEW TESTAMENT

### BOOKS

DURAND, A. The Childhood of Jesus Christ according to the Canonical Gospels. With an Historical Essay on the Brethren of the Lord. Translated from the French. Edited by Joseph Brunneau. Philadelphia: McVey, 1910. Pp. xxv+316. \$1.50 net.

This is a learned apologetic for the historical character of the infancy narratives of Matthew and Luke, especially in the matter of the virgin birth of Jesus. As to the Lord's brethren, Durand holds that they were not the sons of Mary. The patristic evidence is carefully collected and, from the apologetic point of view, skilfully handled. The book is an argument, not an investigation. It is distressing to read (p. 55) that Aristides handed his Apology to Hadrian, when that document itself states that it was addressed to Antoninus.

VIAUD, PROSPER. Nazareth: et ses deux Eglises de l'Annonciation et de Saint Joseph. D'après les fouilles récentes. Paris: Picard, 1910. Pp. 200.

This learned and painstaking monograph on the Christian antiquities of Nazareth is fully and finely illustrated and constitutes a real contribution to the Christian archaeology of that interesting place.

RESCH, ALFRED. Das Galiläa bei Jerusalem. Eine biblische Studie. Ein Beitrag zur Palästina Kunde. Mit einer Kartenskizze. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1910. Pp. 55. M. 1.30.

The evidence for the existence of a "Galilee" near Jerusalem, east of the Mount of Olives, is collected from the Old and New Testament, and from Jewish and Christian writers and evaluated by Resch with reference to its bearing on the possible reconciliation of the gospel narratives of the Galilean and Jerusalem resurrection appearances of Jesus.

### ARTICLES

BACON, B. W. The Purpose of Mark's Gospel, *Journal of Biblical Literature*, XXIX (1910), 41-60.

Professor Bacon briefly presents and illustrates his view that the narratives of Mark were primarily composed for immediate practical purposes of edification and instruction.







REV. JAMES HASTINGS, D.D.

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## Editorial

### RELIGION AND HISTORICAL FACTS

Professor Adolf Jülicher of Marburg closes a recent essay with an exhortation that there shall henceforth be a friendly divorce between personal religion and historical science as applied to the beginnings of Christianity. This divorce he asks in the interests of both historical science and piety.

The question thus raised is not a new one. There have long been among Christian thinkers two schools of opinion with reference to the relation of our Christian faith to historic fact in general and the facts respecting the origin of Christianity in particular. Those of the one school have maintained that Christianity is a historical religion in the sense that it rests fundamentally on certain historic facts, disproof or serious doubt of which would take away the very foundations of our faith. Thinkers of the other school have maintained that Christianity is a life, not an argument or an apologetic. Whatever its beginning historically, this life exists in the souls of men, its strength and effectiveness by no means measured, and but little affected, by the extent or accuracy of one's historical knowledge. The substantiation or disproof of certain historic facts might modify the argument by which we explain and justify our religious life to our own minds; but the life *is*, and could not be destroyed by the denial or disproof of any fact of history.

If called upon to choose between these two positions we should be compelled to take our stand with the latter. To lay upon every individual Christian the burden of the critical process, by which alone facts of a remote past can be proved to be facts, is to put on his shoulders a load too heavy to be borne. To demand that his right to be religious shall wait on the word of some ecclesias-

tical or scientific authority as to these facts is intolerable tyranny. Nor is either of these things necessary. The Christian type of religious experience is in the world. It is a type of life which, however it may relate itself to certain intellectual convictions concerning matters of history, originated in most cases through the vital process of personal influence, rather than through a reasoned acceptance of historical facts. As it was not dependent for its origin on scientific or authoritative establishment of such facts, neither is it for its continuance. Especially is this true if we mean by history, not the religious experiences of men of the past, but the historic events which were the occasion of such experiences, not the righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Spirit which were experienced by Christians of the first century, but the historical cause of these. If, then, Professor Jülicher is asking, as we understand, for the recognition of the fact that many men may go on living the Christian life while other men pursue their historical investigations, we cannot object to such a divorce. To demand that one shall first attain scientific certainty and then only venture to be religious is to postpone religion to the end of life and then make it the privilege of a few scholars only. Religious faith is not identical with historic belief, nor dependent on any act of such belief. "He that cometh unto God must believe that he is and that he is the rewarder of them that diligently seek him." Such belief has undoubtedly become a part of the possessions of the race through experience, which is part of the history of the race. But neither its validity nor its continuance is conditioned on the belief of any specific fact of history.

Yet it is most important to observe that this is far from being a complete divorce between religion and history, and that a complete divorce is highly undesirable, not to say impossible.

From history, if history means the actual events that occurred, we cannot divorce religion if we would. Whatever the facts were which occurred at the beginning of our religion, or that have made up its subsequent career, we cannot change the facts or their relation to our religion. The only practicable divorce between history and religion is a mental separation; an existence of religion independent of one's convictions or opinions as to what happened in the past. Is



such a divorce of religion and history desirable? Is it for the advantage of the common man, the ordinarily intelligent Christian who is not a special student of history, that he shall endeavor to isolate his religion from such historical knowledge as is possible to him?

Such a divorce might in a sense be effected by the acceptance of a certain body of historical traditions connected with one's religion, regardless of what is really historically true or probable. In this way, though accepting certain facts as historical and indeed attaching great religious value to their historicity, one divorces his religion from history in the sense that he refuses to submit to the test of history his judgments on those matters of history that seem to him to have religious value. In other words, he carefully keeps his religion and his historic sense in separate compartments of his mind. This many men have sought to do; some have even openly declared that so only could their religion be conserved.

A more real divorce of religion and history would be effected by cutting one's religion wholly loose from any view whatever about the history of Christianity early or late, holding fast to one's religious convictions, but becoming, for example, wholly agnostic about the historicity of the life and teachings of Jesus, and the history of the early church.

We are persuaded that neither of these forms of divorce between history and religion is practicable for the common man. We can neither tell our youth to believe everything, asking no questions, and to keep away as from a pestilence from all who concern themselves with historical studies, nor can we tell them to believe nothing historically, and be religious with none of the help and inspiration that come from the records of the splendid beginnings of our religion in the life of Jesus Christ and his apostles, or of the lives of their heroic followers in later years. We shall be foolish indeed if we fill the atmosphere in which we are endeavoring to educate our youth with doubts and questions for which they are unprepared, however needful it may be that scholars should deal with them. We shall be not less so if we emphasize as vital to religion historic statements that in their very nature are open to question. The path of wisdom lies at neither the one extreme nor the other. Recognizing on the one hand that religion is not depend-

ent upon accuracy of historic knowledge at any point, and on the other that in those facts which are established with such measure of probability as places them beyond all reasonable doubt, there is stimulus and help to the religious life that nothing else will furnish, we shall teach without scruple what we believe to be fact, and in due time encourage those who show fitness and taste for such studies, and in the measure in which they show such fitness, to inquire for themselves into these matters. Absolute historic certainty we shall have to do without; for we neither need it nor can we get it. But historic probabilities we shall never be able to dispense with. To attempt it is as foolish as to refuse to eat bread because we are not assured by chemical analysis of its absolute purity.

But what about the scholar? Can he divorce religion from history, prosecuting his historical studies, but forbidding them in any way to influence his religion? This is certainly not possible in respect to all history. For history is the record of human experience. And he who divorces himself from that, forbidding it to teach him anything, shuts himself up to the narrow horizon of his own mind, and deprives himself of the indispensable aid of a knowledge of other men's experiences. But neither can he divorce religion from history in the sense of excluding from account all the experiences of men of previous generations, limiting his horizon in religion to his own experiences and those of his contemporaries. For wherein does experience become valuable if attested by living men but valueless when recorded by men of preceding generations? And in what field of knowledge could one afford to draw a line between the present generation and those that preceded it, and refuse all consideration to the latter? Could it be done in any field of social science, in economics, in political science, or in education? No more can the student of religion afford to divorce religion from history.

And least of all can he afford to exclude from the field of his study, or from influence upon his religion, the records of the beginnings of Christianity in the life and work of Jesus, or, continuing his studies in this field, keep them wholly separated from religion. Rather must the scholar in religion and history seek to broaden and deepen his studies that his judgments in the sphere of religion may rest upon the broadest and strongest basis possible. He must

not indeed link his religion and his studies so closely as to control the decision of historical questions by his own personal religion, or on the other hand to paralyze his efforts as an investigator by the fear lest the outcome of his studies will be the destruction of religion. Yet neither as a religious man nor as a scholar can he decree that his studies shall in no way affect his religious convictions or his religious life. There are no water-tight compartments of the mind by means of which thought and religion shall be kept from affecting one another. The scholar can divorce religion and history only in the wholly limited sense of continuing to be religious while he carries forward his historical studies.

If it is objected that this course involves the possibility of constant readjustment of the historical convictions that are associated with our religious experience, an acceptance today of what the evidence renders wholly probable, and a possible modification of it presently by the new information gained, this is but to say that history as an adjunct of religion shares in the non-finality that belongs to all things human. But such readjustment is dangerous and fear-inspiring only when we have made the mistake at the outset of assuming that historical certainty is not an adjunct, but the one and indispensable foundation, of our religion. Avoid this error, and one may face possible revision of his historic judgments with equanimity.

In short, history is not religion; religion is not history; and though the study of the history of religion furnishes the broadest basis for assured conviction in the sphere of religion, yet because that basis is very broad, and religion itself is a vital, present-day reality, its right to be cannot be endangered by any historical investigation either into the past religious experiences of men, or into the facts which lay back of and gave occasion to those experiences. But on the other hand, we cannot afford to dispense with that help that is afforded us by even such knowledge of the past as is possible to us without becoming specialists in historical criticism. The historical study of the Bible and of the Christian religion is, and is likely ever to be, one of the most valuable aids to religion itself, whether pursued by the scholar in his exhaustive way, or by the comparatively unlearned with that diligence and acuteness of which they are capable.



## MODERN EVANGELISM IN THE LIGHT OF MODERN PSYCHOLOGY

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The more precise object of this article is determined by the following question: "In the light of what we now know about the workings of the human mind, what is a sane and rational method of inducing men and women to commit themselves definitely to a right way of living?" The purpose is not to offer a specific study of the phenomena of conversion and revivalism, or to criticize current methods of evangelism; but to describe in as clear and constructive a fashion as possible the factors and motives which underlie the religious appeal as seen from the psychological point of view. A clear comprehension of these factors and motives should determine the methods and the message employed by the religious teacher and preacher. Such criticism of current views and methods as seems necessary will be mainly incidental.

For convenience of discussion, I begin with a contrast between what I shall term the dogmatic point of view and the psychological point of view. The purpose is to bring out the contrast rather than to render an accurate and exhaustive description.

The dogmatic method starts from a given conception of God and his relation to man and the universe, based upon a doctrinal interpretation of the Scriptures. It studies texts and doctrines rather than human nature. It operates with more or less firmly fixed theories as to the nature of God and man and the means of salvation, unaffected by new world-views which seem to compel changes of interpretation and emphasis. It seeks to win men to a right way of living by a kind of evangelism which presupposes a uniform type of faith and experience. Its methods of conversion are stereotyped to fit the doctrinal conceptions with which it starts. It is apt to treat children and adults in much the same way, and to disregard differences of temperament and changing environment in their effect upon religious and moral growth. It proceeds upon

the assumption that there is an inborn religious faculty which justifies the expectation that by some miracle of grace in sacrament and worship, or by some crisis of conversion produced by mental or emotional tension, this religious instinct will spring into full life, overcome sin, and win salvation.

The psychological method starts from the other end of the scale; it begins with man and reasons from the known to the unknown; it seeks to understand the modes of human consciousness which underlie religious experience and shape religious needs. It sets into clear light the marvelous religious consciousness of Jesus as a guide to our knowledge of God, and to a moral success of life by the help of the divine in man as Jesus revealed it. It takes account of the fact that the human self is not a ready-made construction, but a product of changing experience. It treats children differently from adults as having a mental world of their own. It devotes a large share of interest to adolescence as the period when far-reaching physical, mental, and social adjustments begin to be made, and when religious habits are most likely to be formed. While it takes note of this periodicity in the growing self, it remembers at the same time that the growth is continuous, that the periods are not separated by a gulf, and that the inner life is a unity amid variety. The intellectual, the moral, and the religious are "strands in the single cable of the inner life." Moral and religious education are not concerned exclusively with the will, or with the affections, or with the understanding. They involve all these in the closest relation. Religion is not the product of a special and inborn "faculty," but it is the whole personality reacting upon the experiences of life in that peculiar way which we call religious. This view gives no sanction, therefore, to the separation of the religious life from the other phases of man's life, or to that separation of the "life that now is" from "that which is to come" that encourages absorption in either to the exclusion of the other. It emphasizes the unity of man's life. It declares that "saving faith" is saving in the sense that it secures the heavenly mansions, and also in the sense that it enters into the very warp and woof of the life and character and conduct of the Christian now and here on earth.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Compare the statement by Professor Frederick Tracy in the *Proceedings of the Religious Education Association*, Vol. II.

The object now is to show how this psychological mode of approach regards the mental and moral nature of man, and how it interprets and measures the value of the means used by the religious guide and preacher, in the attempt to win men to a right way of living. Of course it is not pretended that psychology creates anything new; it is only a distinct mode of approach, a means of interpretation, a guide to the inner life as it actually exists.

It should require no argument to convince us that the minister who shapes the activities of his church in all its departments, the preacher who seeks to win men to high ideals of faith and action, the evangelist who works for a verdict in his appeal to sinful men, should understand as clearly as possible what is the nature of the human consciousness, how it grows, and how it acts—especially in those phases of it which produce religious experiences.

The psychologists have taught us to see that there are different grades of developing selfhood, and that these successive grades of development are the product of varying degrees of self-consciousness. The child lives in a world of his own; and while we recognize his powers of imitation and his state of dependence, we may not to his benefit attempt to impose on him the standards and beliefs acquired by mature experience and not suited to his childish needs and comprehension. The adolescent is subject to experiences which are new and difficult, and fraught with consequences of the most serious kind. The youth in the adolescent age claims our especial sympathy and understanding. This is the period when our ability to put ourselves in the other's place counts for most if we are to be genuinely helpful. But manhood, too, is subject to changes and crises, especially of the moral and religious type. The term *maturity* is only a relative term. Man never ceases to develop; unless, indeed, he decays, and decay means death in the spiritual realm as well as in the physical.

Such facts as these, and all they imply, enter very directly into the problem of the religious teacher and guide. The process of winning men and women to a right way of living begins in childhood, is at its most critical stage in the period of adolescence, is never quite finished, and includes more than the individual, the growth of personality being dependent upon social relationships. It



must make its way in the presence of social customs, and political usages, and industrial tendencies, which have not yet found their moral bearings for the good of all.

This analysis indicates the importance of the personal equation. The religious shepherd must know his flock; and he must know the world in which they live and strive for moral success. If he can know his people from their childhood up, so much the better; he will then understand their heritage, know their temperaments, be able to recognize promptly the first symptoms of religious diseases to which they may have a tendency. Again, if the object to be attained is something personal—the formation of a strong character—the means employed, the modes of influence, are also personal. The nature and the power of religious influence may be well described by the term friendship. That is the word by which the Fourth Evangelist defined the relationship of Jesus with his disciples. The force of this lies in the fact that friendship is based upon love, love regarded not merely as affection, but as an ethical quality which unites people on a common basis of moral sympathy and moral judgment, which strives for common ideals, and feels that the salvation of the one is not secure, or complete, or worth attaining without the salvation of the many. This is the secret of the influence of Jesus and of the effect of his example upon others. He knew the power of love as a moral quality in binding men together, in making them walk the same path of goodness and service by their own choice and free will. This power is not something that is imparted or transmitted by doctrines or symbols, but by persons. This is the reason why we “preach Jesus,” and why the preacher must have a spirit like that of Jesus if he is to succeed.

This view of the matter bears important implications, of which I can barely mention one or two at this point. It implies that the influence of the religious guide, whether he be parent or teacher or minister, must be continuous and cumulative and convincing in its nature until it has permanently engaged the love and the volition of the one to be won and guided. It implies that the “revival” is at best but a makeshift for something better and more wholesome. The vice of revivalism is the straining for immediate effect, the misuse of the power of suggestibility, and the power to infatuate

the crowd which yields to the will of the leader and is ostensibly converted without any moral change in itself. This is not to deny the value of the evangelist, who by the force of personal conviction and moral earnestness impels men to moral decision and to the choice of a worthy ideal of life. But the momentary decision is of no value; it may be of positive harm, if it does not lead to moral action, if the worthy ideal is not carried into life to overcome temptation and to rule business methods and social habits. The application of the ethical and religious ideal to actual life is a process which requires time. It is subject to doubt and struggle; it implies the formation of habits, and even the changing of temperament; it requires power to overcome oneself and the world; it must win others to its view, for it is a social even more than a personal affair, requiring the power to shape and mold industrial and social morals. All this implies the need of a fellowship and a ministry which is more than passing; which provides for the continued and cumulative force of moral influence and religious inspiration. The permanent success of Jesus in winning men to a new view of life and a better way of living was achieved not in the crowds who were moved to enthusiasm, or melted to a momentary remorse, by a stirring sermon; but in that limited group of disciples who were with him day after day and month after month.

These considerations suggest the importance of a thorough knowledge of the personal factor in religious education, and in every species of evangelism. The question as to where the emphasis belongs in the *message* of the preacher finds its answer in the same direction. It is to be determined by those elements of personal experience and human need which are most primary and far-reaching in their ethical importance, and which call for the aid of religion to make moral success possible. The object we have in view is the achievement of an ideal of life which takes the form of personality. All other success is to be measured by success in this. In comparison with personal character nothing else in time or eternity is worth while. The perfect embodiment of this ideal would be an absolutely perfect Person; that is what we mean by God, and it indicates the place of communion with God in the struggle for moral success.

The most obvious fact of our moral experience is that the attainment of personal character involves a struggle between good and evil, right and wrong, in ourselves and in other persons. There seems to be a breach in our lives, a break in the continuity of that which is right and good. This feeling is what in theological phrase is called the sense of sin, and constitutes the psychological basis of the doctrine of the atonement. Men have the feeling that they are out of harmony with that which is best in themselves and the universe. Ever since men have had the power to make moral distinctions they have felt this dualism of good and evil, this opposition between right and wrong in their own experience, this manifest breach which runs through their lives and the life of the whole race. With this feeling has come the desire to overcome the dualism, to heal the breach, to be wholly at one with that which is good. The vivid consciousness of this feeling is the chief essential to moral progress. The recognition of the fatefulness of the struggle, what it means and what it tends to, and the desire to overcome, to be victorious in the choice of the right—these are necessary conditions to moral development in the higher stages of evolution.

Just here enters the vital element upon which the success of Christian preaching depends. The moral struggle is universal, but the recognition of its fateful importance, what it means and what it tends to, does not come by accident; it is not something spontaneous and inevitable which may be trusted to appear of itself in the course of natural development. We may not suppose that it is the product of a prevailing "tendency upward." Wide experience proves that that is not true. When it comes, it comes as a spiritual act, as the highest *result* of moral struggle. It has not dawned upon the child, who has not yet entered the struggle; it is not yet a reality and a conscious resource to the adolescent, who is just facing the conflict in its first and most fateful stages; even when it has once come it may lose its control in the life of the mature man who is tempted to sacrifice his character upon the altar of material success. Shall you let the child go his way blindly; shall you leave the youth utterly to himself while he is fighting his battles in the dark; shall you stand coldly by while men and women lose sight of moral values, wreck their lives in the pursuit of evil pas-



sions and dishonest gain? Every instinct of love, every moral yearning, in parent and teacher, in every lover of one's kind, rises up against such a supposition. The parent becomes a moral guide, the lover of his kind becomes a preacher of righteousness, because the children cannot find the way alone, because men and women lose the way even when they had once found it.

This explains the need of the prophet of righteousness, in the home, in the church, in the world. The recognition of moral values, the discovery of the "way of salvation" in the moral struggle, may not be, is not in God's economy, left to accident; it comes to us at the necessary point from those who have already found it. This is the moral sanction of the parent who exacts obedience from his children; this is the sanction of the prophet who preaches his message of righteousness. But what am I that I should exact obedience from my children, that I should be a moral guide to youth, that I should attempt to stir men with my message of righteousness? Too well I know my own incompleteness and unworthiness, the pitifulness of my own moral failure. What call have I to preach righteousness to my children, or to my congregation; what guarantee have I to offer that moral success is possible, even though I myself have failed?

We find the answer in the person and life of Jesus. We are *Christian* parents, *Christian* preachers, because Jesus has shown us the way to success. Here is where the moral and religious consciousness of Jesus in its supreme value enters into the Christian message. I believe the picture of Jesus sketched in the gospels, as one who was unique in the moral success of his life, to be authentic. But that success was not a foregone conclusion, something supernaturally given, unrelated to the reality of human struggle. Jesus *attained* moral success; it would not be moral if that were not true. Though the books of the New Testament were written when the process of removing Jesus from the common region of human experience to a higher range of being was already underway, the real state of things is nevertheless faithfully reflected amid all the attempts to explain a unique person in metaphysical or superhuman terms. When we are told that the captain of salvation was himself made perfect through suffering, that Jesus was tempted,

that he was troubled in his spirit, that he felt the supreme importance of moral decision—"if thine eye cause thee to stumble pluck it out"—that he conceived purity of heart more than keenness of intellect to be the condition of knowing God, that he exalted the passion for righteousness above every other passion, we are bound to conclude that his moral success was not something inevitable by superhuman predetermination, but that it was an achievement under human conditions. Jesus himself refused to have men call him "good" as God is good in the sense that he could not be tempted of evil. His example would be worthless if that had been true. The story of the temptation gives us a remarkable glimpse into his experience. There was a strong popular expectation of a Messiah who should have the help of men and angels to establish a kingdom of which he would be the head. This view appealed powerfully to Jesus' instinct of leadership, and all the conditions seemed propitious. But his own deeper feeling was that the success of his mission ought to depend upon simple qualities of goodness, and sympathy, and service, and not on any extraneous force of coercion. It was the clash of these two views, one appealing to selfish human ambition, the other to what was moral and divine in him, that constituted the temptation. The outcome was the decision that a man must, and can, succeed in the purpose and struggle of his life by virtue of the qualities which are moral and native to him as a man. He saw the possibilities of such qualities when directed by the right spirit, the spirit that responds to the love of God and seeks the love of man; that hungers and thirsts for righteousness; that chooses to convince rather than to coerce; that measures success by the responsiveness of mutual goodness and service rather than by popular estimates of power and position.

But if the gospel stories make it clear that the moral success of Jesus was an attainment under human conditions, they make it equally clear that there was a direct relation between his *consciousness of sonship to God* and the moral perfection of his character. What was the secret of his success? It was the permanent conviction, the feeling which underlay all his action, that the desires and purposes and acts of his life were not isolated, not fragmentary, not the play of accident, not to be overturned by some evil chance

tomorrow; but that they were consciously related to an infinite spirit of goodness, an eternal power of righteousness, which exists to unite all men with one bond of sympathy, affection, and purpose. To know that is to know that one is a son of God. Can other men achieve the same success in living their lives, based on a similar consciousness of sonship to God? The whole purpose of Jesus' mission was to convince people that all men, who are fully men, can achieve it. Anyone who has once fully known Jesus cannot afterward be the same man he was before. He cannot conceive himself to live in a godless world. He cannot regard his life as the product of mere chance, the plaything of a blind fate. He cannot believe that the relationships which condition his life, his growth, his ultimate choices, are the relationships of the animal world prompted by fleshly appetites and desires; thereafter they are the relationships of the kingdom of God toward which he is striving. He cannot believe that the real and final success of his life can be measured by anything less, or anything else, than character; the kind of character to which his children can appeal as the sanction of their acts, the basis of their ideal.

To sum it up in one sentence, the force of the Christian message in winning men to a right way of living lies in the right use of these elements: To produce a clear recognition of the fateful importance of the moral struggle, what it means and tends to; to hold up the ideal of goodness in God, who hates sin but loves all men, however sinful; and to preach Jesus who bridges the chasm between the two, who made a moral success of his life because he realized his sonship to God and his consequent brotherhood to man, and who revealed the love of God which redeems men from their baser impulses. There are many other factors, unnamed here, which enter into helpful preaching; motives and quietives which help men to be strong and purposeful, and to find peace and happiness, in a life which involves change and sorrow, sickness and death, failure and disappointment; but these are the essential elements.

If the Christian appeal fails of its effect—and there seems to be a widespread feeling that it often fails—it is because the powerful moral quality in it has been weakened by cheaper sentiments, which reach the softer temperaments, or appeal to sickly emotions,



but fail to stir the souls of virile men. Or it fails because it repels men by its false picture of God as a vindictive feudal tyrant, exacting his bloody price of sin, and even slaying the innocent for the guilty. There is no such immoral view of atonement for sin in the gospel of Jesus. The mode of appeal which takes into account the whole nature of man, and the full set of conditions amid which he lives in this present age, will know how to make allowance for varieties of temperament; but it will never compromise the lofty and compelling spirit of morality which breathes through the Sermon on the Mount. It does not encourage the comfortable and unheroic spirit of capitulation which drives the church from quarters in the city where business encroaches on the homes of the well-to-do and leaves behind the poor or less prosperous. The gospel of Jesus is above all a gospel for the poor—to make them at least morally successful. It does not lend itself to the religious commercialism which advertises its converts and collects its price.

Of evangelism after the true order (it has been well said) the church will always be an advocate. Evangelism lies at the heart of the gospel. The call of men to the holy life must be made imperious and compelling in every generation of Christian history. But of a revivalism that is mechanical, legalistic, emotional, hypnotic, and apparently chiefly concerned with numbers rather than with character, with newspaper reports rather than with permanent transformation of life, we have had enough and quite enough. For the obviously good results that come from revivalism of this type in the lives of those who are actually converted to right living we pay too high a price in the waste of the many who pass through these paroxysms of emotional fervor without further results, and become thereby less susceptible than ever to Christian influence; in the cheapening of religion throughout the community, by making it an agency for entreating, cajoling, threatening, and wheedling men and women into the churches; and in the inevitable tendency to interpret God in terms so trivial and mechanical that men lose regard for the Father who should be the very center and source of their being.<sup>2</sup>

Finally, this mode of appeal takes into account the changing environment in which men must work out their moral salvation, and the advancing point of view from which God and man are seen. The divine genius of the gospel of Jesus is most manifest in the fact that it comes not as a fixed set of laws, but as a spirit of life which impels and guides men to discover truth and righteousness in what-

<sup>2</sup> From a sermon by Dr. H. L. Willett printed in *Unity*, December 2, 1909.

ever time and condition they live. The gospel is plastic in the sense that it is adaptable to changing conditions, and is never left behind but ever furnishes the spiritual impulse for moral conquest. The preacher who would win men to right ways of living must make his message mean something compelling in the new fields where moral responsibility is now on trial.<sup>3</sup> The organization of industry on a large scale, sinking the individual in the corporation, making the working-man a mere cog in a great set of wheels; the rapid development of scientific research with results that affect whole world-views; the promotion of education along lines which are suggested by these changing world-views; these and other movements confront the religious teacher and preacher with new tasks in interpreting the worth of personality, in finding a sure basis for justice, in nurturing a faith which glories in inquiry and fears no mode of investigation, believing that God fulfils himself in many ways and that His love is yet broader than men's minds.

<sup>3</sup> For a most excellent and illuminating discussion of this aspect of the preacher's problem see the article by Professor James H. Tufts on "The Adjustment of the Church to the Psychological Conditions of the Present Time," in the *American Journal of Theology*, XII, No. 2, April, 1908, and reprinted by the University of Chicago Press in pamphlet form.

## RELIGION AND ETHICS IN THE THOUGHT OF THE APOSTLE PAUL: GAL. 5:6

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There has been much discussion in times past of the apostle's doctrine of justification, and in late years of his eschatology and Christology. But it is doubtful whether his thought about the essential features of the religious life in its specifically Christian form has received a proportionate amount of attention. Nowhere is his thought concerning the content of religion and of morality and their mutual relations more strikingly set forth than in Gal. 5:6. But for the full apprehension of the meaning of this passage it must be interpreted in the light of its relation to the whole epistle, and especially to the remainder of the chapter in which it stands.

The Epistle to the Galatians is one of the most interesting in the whole New Testament collection. Its vivid presentation of a tense and critical situation gives it almost the quality of a drama. It is also one of the most modern, in the sense that it deals with questions that enter in principle into problems that are still of vital interest to men. It was written to a group of churches which the apostle himself had founded. These churches had been visited after the apostle's departure by Christian preachers who, holding a very different conception of Christianity from that which Paul held and preached, had nearly succeeded in persuading the Galatians to accept their view instead of the apostle's. The letter was evidently written immediately after the receipt of this very disturbing news, and had for its purpose to arrest the threatened movement in the direction of that which Paul regarded as a perverted gospel and a practical apostasy from Christ.

The letter clearly reveals to us Paul's original message in response to which the Galatians had become Christians, and the counter



argument of the perverting preachers, as well as Paul's reply to their argument.

The Galatians were Gentiles and Paul's converts were made from among idol-worshippers. Paul himself was a Jew, a Jew who believed in Jesus as the Christ, but still a Jew. But his message to the Galatians did not include an invitation to become Jewish proselytes, or to put themselves under the yoke of the Jewish law. He preached to them a living and true God, as against the idols that they had worshiped; he announced to them Jesus as the Christ, the Son of God, crucified on behalf of sinners, and risen from the dead; and he exhorted them to believe in Christ as the Savior of men. But he did not enjoin circumcision, or the keeping of the Sabbath or the other sacred days of the Jews, nor did he enforce his exhortation to morality by appeal to the authority of the Old Testament law. It was a religion of the Spirit, and a morality grounded in this religion, that he preached and the Galatians accepted.

To those who came after Paul in Galatia this teaching was fatally defective. They were conscientious legalists, who believed that the will of God was expressed in the statutes of the Old Testament, and that divine approval was to be gained by strict obedience to these statutes. Approaching the Galatians at what was perhaps their most susceptible point of attack, they had induced them to take up the observance of days and weeks and months. Simultaneously with their successful efforts in this direction, or successively, but up to the writing of the letter at least unsuccessfully, they had endeavored to persuade the Galatians to accept circumcision. It is not difficult to reproduce their argument. The Christ whom Paul preached was sent to the covenant people of God, and in fulfilment of promises made to them. Participation in the covenant was conditioned, so the Old Testament clearly taught, on the acceptance of circumcision (Gen. 17:1-14). It was easy to allege that Paul's gospel was a tower without a foundation, the end without the beginning. Faith was good, but in the order of personal experience circumcision comes before faith, and after it comes obedience to law.

- \*The doctrine of legalism Paul himself had once held; but while

to his opponents faith in Jesus was but an appendix to the really fundamental part of their religion, which was legalistic through and through, the experience which had led Paul to become a believing disciple, and eventually an apostle of Christ, had led him also to the total rejection of legalism.

Into the intricacies of the arguments on both sides, which disclose themselves to the careful student of this letter, it is not the purpose of this paper to enter. Suffice it to say that *in principle* the conflict was between a religion of authority, i.e., the authority of the past as expressed in sacred books and the tradition of the church, and the religion of experience including even that of living men; *in substance* the issue was between a religion fundamentally physical and a religion essentially spiritual and ethical. It is this latter aspect of the matter which is clearly set forth in the pregnant utterance of Gal. 5:6, "In Christ Jesus, neither circumcision availeth anything, nor uncircumcision, but faith working through love." It is the exposition of this sentence that is the specific task of this paper.

"*In Christ Jesus*": The phrase is characteristically Pauline. Jesus Christ was for Paul the image of God, the Son of God, toward whom faith in God is directed, in whom it finds its object, and in fellowship with whom man enters into fellowship with God. So intimate is the relation of the believer with Christ that to speak of Christ as living in the believer and the believer in Christ, is to use language none too strong for the apostle's thought. We may perhaps paraphrase the expression in the words, "in the religion of Jesus Christ," or "to the believer in Christ Jesus," but neither phrase quite adequately interprets it.

"*Neither circumcision availeth anything nor uncircumcision*": That the apostle affirms the valuelessness of circumcision to the believer in Christ illustrates how thoroughly he had repudiated the legalistic principle and the authority of the Old Testament strictly interpreted. For, as already pointed out, the Old Testament distinctly states that circumcision is the seal of the covenant between God and his people and that he who will not receive it shall be cut off from his people because he hath broken God's covenant (Gen. 17:14). Back of all the statutes for which the name

of Moses stood voucher, and presupposed in them all, was this rite, which went back even to the days of Abraham, where it had been made the indispensable and perpetual seal of God's covenant of grace. Yet for Paul not only had this primal rite become without authority; he could even declare that the acceptance of it by a Gentile was a denial of Christ and severance of relation to him. (Cf. vs. 2.)

But the apostle adds, "nor uncircumcision." Repudiation of the statute, in itself, then, has no value. Rejection of authority has no virtue; this lies in what takes its place. In itself anti-legalism is as unavailing as legalism.

*"But faith"*: In this we reach the positive element of the apostle's assertion, and one of the most central terms of his thought. What then is faith? Taken in its lowest terms, in its simplest form, stripped of all that is local or temporary, it is the practical acceptance of that which authenticates itself as the will and thought of God. "Abraham believed God, and it was reckoned to him as righteousness"; and to this assertion of the Old Testament the apostle appeals in more than one epistle to show the antiquity of the revelation of faith as the basis of the divine approval. The actual content, intellectually speaking, of Abraham's faith is of so little consequence that no reference is made to it. What came to him with the assurance on his part that it was from God, to this he yielded assent of mind and will. Openness of mind to the divine revelation, whatever its content, and response of will—this is faith.

If this be faith, one cannot doubt that it has existed in many a land, in many an age—shall we dare to say, in every land, in every age? The sheik of the desert who became the pattern of faith and the Father of the Faithful is not the only man that has had an open mind and a responsive will; nor did the apostle think that Abraham was a solitary example of faith. The class of those who "by patient continuance in good works seek for glory and honor and incorruption" is not an imaginary one in his thought, nor is it confined to men of Abrahamic descent.

But if this be faith according to its fundamental nature, it is evident that it must be capable of ever-enlarging horizon, and of demanding ever larger response of will. In particular, if Jesus is



the Son of God, the image of God, in whom we see the light of the glory of God, faith confronted by that revelation must accept this also, and the soul must respond and the life become conformed to the demand which such revelation makes. If moreover this revelation be made not only, as it was to the Twelve, in the Christ that walked in Galilee and suffered in Jerusalem, but in the ever-living Spirit of Christ, which is the Spirit of God, and if with this Spirit of Christ there be possible a fellowship of the human spirit, which purifies, inspires, and empowers, then faith may grow, and ought to grow, into such fellowship, so that he who believes may say, as Paul said, "It is no longer I that live, but Christ that liveth in me, and the life that I now live in the flesh I live by faith upon the Son of God." This is what faith had become for Paul. Doubtless the language is the language of one in whom there was something of the spirit of the mystic. But we cannot doubt that the experience was real, in Paul's case and in many another. However touched with emotion may be the language in which the believer speaks of his faith, however vague the definition of it in his mind, the experience itself still conforms to the fundamental idea of faith. It is the purpose and effort to assimilate in thought and life that which comes to the soul bringing with it the assurance that it is the revelation of God.

But where, on this conception of faith, it may be asked, is the soul's guarantee against misinterpretation or even deception? How can it be assured that the seeming revelation is really such, or that its meaning is what it seems to be? Absolute guarantee, it must be answered, there is none. The manifoldness of the interpretations that have been put upon the life and teaching of Christ are sufficient evidence of this. Even the Twelve whom Jesus chose to be his most trusted companions but imperfectly apprehended him. Faith does not give infallibility. It cannot guarantee the correctness of each believer's interpretation of his experience. But neither is its religious effectiveness, or its right to be, dependent on such correctness. If, as in the apostle's day, the fruit of faith is seen in love, joy, and peace, these strongly testify that it has, however mysteriously, laid hold upon the deep realities of life, the sources of power in life.

*"Working through love"*: The joining of faith and love is not particularly unusual; but the apostle has nowhere else set them in precisely the relation which this phrase implies. And at first sight there is something paradoxical in this relation. *Faith* is the attitude of the soul toward God and his revelation of himself. By *love* the apostle doubtless means an attitude toward men: for a little later in this chapter he enjoins the Galatians "by love to serve one another," and adds that all the law is fulfilled in one word, Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself. To love is then to recognize the fact that the welfare of others is as really a thing of value as one's own, and to desire to promote that welfare equally with one's own. It is the losing of one's individual self in the larger social self; not the ignoring of one's own well-being, as if it were of no consequence; for if it be not of value, then that of others is also worthless; but the devotion of one's self to the welfare of one's community, be that community large or small. It is in such love as this that Paul finds the solution of all the ethical problems of life. We are one body; let each live as a member of the body, seeking the welfare of the body, not each member his own.

But love, the apostle implies, is the product of faith, and through it faith finds expression. For this is the meaning of the words, "faith working through love." Though the expression is unusual, the apostle's own statements about faith and love suggest the explanation. Faith so allies the soul of the believer with Christ that it is no longer he that lives but Christ that lives in him. But the principle of Jesus' life is love, as the apostle repeatedly declares; love must then become dominant in the life of the believer also. It comes to the same thing when in 5:22 the apostle sets forth first in the list of those things that constitute the fruit of the Spirit, love. For the life of faith in Christ is a life of fellowship with the Spirit, the life of one who lives by the Spirit (vs. 25), is led by the Spirit (vs. 18), walks by the Spirit (vss. 16, 25). Faith, therefore, as the apostle here conceives of it, is the radical element of the life of the Christian; from this root, or rather, from the union of the soul with God which it effects, there springs that love which is itself first among the fruits of the Spirit, and becomes in turn the root and source of the others. "The fruit of the spirit is love, joy,

peace, long-suffering, kindness, goodness, faithfulness, meekness, self-control." And these things cannot but be found in the life of him in whose soul there is the faith that works through love.

This then is the apostle's conception of the Christian life: a soul open to the fulness of God's revelation of himself; a life transfused with, and transformed by, the sense of fellowship with the God whose love toward men and whose will respecting men have been supremely revealed in Jesus Christ; a life of loving service of one's fellow-men, of devotion to their welfare, which finds its source and its inspiration in this sense of fellowship with him who is the supreme member of the body of which we all are parts.

But is such a life practicable in this day and age of the world? We shall readily grant that it is superior to the other two types of life of which the apostle speaks in this chapter, the life controlled by the passions of the flesh, and the life under law. Even though, with the apostle, we take the term flesh as standing not simply for the appetites that find their seat and stimulus in the animal nature, but as including all the forces that we comprehend under the term selfishness, yet it is still true that the works of the flesh are debasing and degrading, and that he that soweth to the flesh shall of the flesh reap corruption. Nor can it be thought that the highest type of human life is achieved by the endeavor to obey a code of rules, however complete and lofty these rules may be. Legalism has its elements of strength; it is vastly superior to the life of surrender to the impulses of the flesh. Yet there is something far better than legalism. To Paul, who had lived a life of such perfection as is attainable under legalism, the entrance into the life in Christ was an emergence from the darkness of slavery into the light of freedom. The ideal life is not one of bondage, either to the impulses to evil that are a part of our inheritance from the past history of the race, or even to a code of laws however good. There must be in it an element of spontaneity and freedom; it must be the joyous expression of an energy that has its source and perennial spring within, a power divine, yet resident in the soul itself.

But the question arises, and it is a natural one, whether civilization and organized society do not demand of the individual that



he shall conform his conduct to certain common rules of action, and that he follow these even when they do not seem to be expressive of any general moral principle. Does he not then of necessity come again under law? This is certainly true; and it is one of the first things that a man impelled by the spirit of love and seeking to serve the community will discover. Even aside from those things which are in themselves necessary to the good of the community, such as truthfulness, honesty in commercial transactions and in the payment of taxes, there are not a few things in which the public good demands a certain measure of uniformity of action. In London the cab driver must turn to the left, in New York to the right. No man can escape the necessity of obeying many statutory requirements; no man who desires the welfare of the community, to say nothing of his own, will wish to escape. The freedom of the Christian man means not disregard of the law of the land, or of any of the things for which love to one's neighbor calls; but, on the one hand, a joyous doing of these things because they are the natural expressions of the life-principle of love, and on the other, freedom from bondage to any statutes handed down from ancient times which, however useful in the past, no longer serve the interests of mankind.

But there is a more fundamental element in our question, whether the life of faith working through love is practicable today. It is respecting the element of faith and the possibility of a real fellowship of the human soul with God, that in many minds the gravest doubt will arise. Few earnest-minded men will question that we ought to love our fellow-men, or that a life devoted to the welfare of the community is both possible and ennobling. But can such a life of service to men find its source and spring in a conscious, joyous, fellowship with God? This question touches, of course, the deepest, most vital element of Paul's conception. Losing this, we lose the very heart of that type of life of which we have been speaking.

Is then the life of faith, the life of the Spirit, the fellowship of the human soul with the eternal Spirit of Christ, really possible? Let us remind ourselves that we are not speaking of visions and revelations. These entered into Paul's experience; but they are

not of the essence of the life of the Spirit. Nor do we mean the surrender of the soul to vague impressions, though these be dignified by the title, "voices of the Spirit." The life of faith rests not on these, but on the firm conviction that God is, and that to the soul that desires to know his thought and to do his will, and is ready to employ all the powers of the mind in the effort to learn that thought and will, he is a God that reveals himself. Through ancient Scripture and the example of the Christ; through counsel of parent, friend, and teacher; in the response of one's own best and deepest self to the call of circumstance and opportunity, the revelation comes. The invisible things of God are perceived through the things that are made, and the duty of the individual is discoverable through the interpretation of the events that happen about him and to him. So it was with Paul, so it is with every soul that will receive the revelation thus made. The sensualist suppresses it; the rebellious man defies it; the wilful man perverts it; the ill-balanced mind, longing for the visible vision and the audible revelation, distorts it even at times into a very voice of Satan; but to every soul it comes, and the sober, earnest soul finds in it the guide of life. And not only guidance, but power, also; for he who is led by the Spirit, also lives by the Spirit, and in his life there appears the fruit of the Spirit.

"As many as are led by the Spirit of God these are sons of God," and to be led by the Spirit of God is not impossible. Mysterious it may be, as all the great things of life are mysterious. But throughout the centuries, before the coming of the Christ and since, multitudes of men and women have lived the life of faith and found its fruit to be love, joy, and peace. Our interpretation of the experience, the language in which we describe it, may vary, and, what is more significant, may react to modify the type of the experience itself; but the experience is real, and the effects of it in life are unmistakable. Faith works through love. Christian morality has its roots in religion; and the religion of faith bears its fruit in love. To this truth, so tersely expressed by Paul, so thoroughly attested in centuries of experience, this practical age needs supremely to give heed.

## THE DISCOVERY OF THE DEUTERONOMIC LAW

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In a series of communications made by Professor Edouard Naville, the well-known Egyptologist, in 1907, to the Society of the Theological Sciences in Geneva, and to the Society of Biblical Archaeology in London,<sup>1</sup> and in 1909 to the Académie des Inscriptions et Belle-Lettres in Paris,<sup>2</sup> this scholar has proposed an original hypothesis concerning the origin of Deuteronomy and the discovery of the Book of the Law under Josiah.

The stakes placed by Professor Naville for the erection of this historical structure, or, to speak without figures, the fundamental arguments of his course of reasoning are as follows:

1. The point of departure of Professor Naville's whole argument consists essentially in the testimony of some Egyptian texts concerning the origin of "The Chapter of the Heart" from the *Book of the Dead* found under the statue of the god in the temple at Hermopolis. The authority which the *Book of the Dead* enjoyed in ancient Egypt is well known. This authority was equal to that of the law among the ancient Hebrews. The "Chapter of the Heart" contains the words which the deceased was supposed to address to his heart at the judgment scene at the moment when he is about to be weighed in the balances.

Concerning this chapter we read in various papyri the following statements:<sup>3</sup>

This chapter was found at Shmun [Hermopolis] on a slab of stone of the South, written in true lapis *under the feet of this god*.

This chapter was found at Shmun [Hermopolis] on a brick or slab of stone of the South *under the feet of the Majesty of this venerable god*, in the writing

<sup>1</sup> *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, June 12, 1907. The work read by Professor Naville will appear in the *Memoirs of the Academy*.

<sup>2</sup> *Comptes-rendus de l'Académie*, July 20 and November 5, 1909.

<sup>3</sup> The citations which follow are extracted from the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*.



of the god himself, in the time of the Majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menkaura. The royal son Hordedef found it when he was on his way to inspect the temples of Egypt.

Furthermore, it is said, in reference to other religious writings, that they were laid in the foundation walls of the temple. We read in a papyrus regarding chap. lxiv of the same *Book of the Dead* in the chapter on "Going out of the Day":

This chapter <sup>4</sup> was found in the foundations of [the god] Amihunnu by the overseer of the men who built a wall, in the time of King Usaphais.

Professor Naville from these texts and others like them draws the conclusion that in ancient Egypt religious writings having great authority were deposited in the foundations of the temples or under the statues of divinities.

2. The *Book of the Law* found in the temple at Jerusalem under Josiah was a discovery analogous to that of the chapters of the *Book of the Dead* found in the foundations of the temples or under the statues of the gods. Professor Naville likens it to the discovery of the chapter found in the foundations of the temple.

3. The temple at Jerusalem having been built in the time of Solomon, the *Book of the Law* was deposited in the foundations of the temple during that reign.

4. The *Book of the Law* is Deuteronomy.

5. The high priest Hilkiah, who found this book, gave it to the royal secretary, Shaphan, to be read, hence he could not read it himself, nor understand its significance.

6. It follows that this book was not written in Hebrew but in the language of the educated men of that time, that is, in Assyrian and in cuneiform characters.

Such are the theses of Professor Naville by which he justifies his hypothesis regarding the origin of Deuteronomy. They scarcely need to be refuted, they are so feebly established. We respond to them with the following observations:

1. It is only by a simple and very vague analogy that the discovery of the law under Josiah can be likened to the chapter of the *Book of the Dead* found in the foundations of the Egyptian

<sup>4</sup> The chapter in question is a brief edition of one chapter and regularly bears the title, "Chapter of Knowing the Chapters of Going Out of the Day in one Chapter."

temple. Moreover, the proposed resemblance rests upon an inexact affirmation. As a matter of fact, it is not said in the biblical text that the roll of the law was found in the foundations of the temple at Jerusalem. It is written only that it was discovered in the temple, without any indication of the precise place. "Then Hilkiash the high priest said to Shaphan the secretary, I have found the *Book of the Law* in the house of Jehovah" (II Kings 12:8, according to the Greek and Hebrew text).

According to II Chron. 34:14 (in both Hebrew and Greek text), if one is at all justified in attributing any authority to this redaction from a very late age, it seems that the *Book of the Law* was discovered in the vicinity of the sacred treasury. We read, indeed, in the Hebrew text: "When they withdrew the money that had been brought into the house of Jehovah, Hilkiash the high priest found the *Book of the Law* of Jehovah given by Moses." The translation of the Septuagint is identical with the original text. Whatever may be the value of the affirmation of Chronicles, it is nowhere said in the biblical texts that the *Book of the Law* was found in the days of Josiah in the foundations of the temple. This book, then, had not been deposited in those foundations in the time of Solomon.

2. Professor Naville, in order to affirm that the *Book of the Law* was written in a language unknown to the high priest, insists upon the fact that Hilkiash did not read it but gave it to be read to the royal secretary, to the scribe, to the educated man, who read it aloud before the king. In any case the king understood the text of it since after the reading he rent his garments as a sign of grief.

In the course of reasoning thus supported there are evident confusions. The fact is that Shaphan read the book first of all for himself (II Kings 22:8). Furthermore, it is not said that the high priest had not read the book before handing it over to Shaphan; it is simply stated that Hilkiash found the book and then handed it to the royal secretary. It seems rather to result from the context that Hilkiash, who found the book, read it, and then, judging the book to be of exceptional interest, gave it to the royal secretary in order that he might carry it to the king. According to the tenor of the texts themselves the *Book of the Law* does not appear to have

been incomprehensible to anyone. Consequently, there is no necessity for supposing it to have been written in an unknown language or in unknown characters.

3. If the facts were in accordance with the theory of Professor Naville, we should arrive at this strange result, that a law from the period of Solomon, an important document and of great authority, must have existed in only one copy, and was moreover unknown to anyone, since it was hidden in the foundations of the temple.

4. Professor Naville does not hesitate to admit that the *Book of the Law* found under Josiah was Deuteronomy. Why? Because Professor Naville accepts the conclusions of biblical critics which have demonstrated that this book was indeed Deuteronomy. Is there not now a certain inconsistency in accepting this particular point of criticism, while repudiating the most essential part of the work of those exegetes who have established that Deuteronomy is a work from the period of Josiah? If Deuteronomy was composed in the period of Josiah, it cannot have been deposited in the foundations of Solomon's temple.

5. However, everything tends to show that Deuteronomy is a book of the prophetic school composed in the period of the king, Josiah:

a) The concentration of the cultus at Jerusalem in the reign of Josiah corresponds to the absolute monotheism preached by Deuteronomy, a monotheism the symbol and the concrete formula of which is the unity of the place of worship at Jerusalem.

b) The criticism of royalty made by the Deuteronomist (17:14-20) applies to the abuse of that political régime in Israel, and more particularly to the sumptuous reign of Solomon, especially indicated by the multitude of women in the royal harem (vs. 17) and by the great number of horses imported from Egypt (vs. 16). Solomon would not have taken pains to deposit in the foundations of the temple a book containing so sharp a criticism of his reign.

c) We should seek in vain in the biblical writings prior to the seventh century, particularly in the ancient prophets, for a trace of the influence of Deuteronomic ideas. Such influence reveals itself only after the appearance of Deuteronomy; that is to say, in the course of the seventh century and later. In the writings of



the Old Testament composed later than Deuteronomy there are several which have been modified by editors with Deuteronomic tendencies; but it is above all in Jeremiah, the great prophet of the seventh century, that there is revealed the great current of new ideas, both religious and ethical, of which the Deuteronomist was the initiator.

The hypothesis put forth by Professor Naville will not withstand, therefore, a thorough examination of the biblical texts. That being so, let us attempt to represent to ourselves that which took place in the seventh century at Jerusalem in the period of Josiah in the eighteenth year of his reign, viz., 621 B.C.

In 621 when the repairs upon the temple were being made which the king had ordered, the high priest found the *Book of the Law*. This book was read to the king, who, upon the reading of this document of so capital an importance, manifested the most evident signs of the deepest grief and formed the decision to destroy in his kingdom all polytheism and all idolatry, a reform which was literally realized. What then took place?

1. There had existed for a long time in Israel and more particularly in the kingdom of Judah a party of religious reform which had had its most authentic and eminent representatives in the great prophets of the eighth century. Isaiah, Micah, Joel, and their anonymous contemporaries in the kingdom of the south, with Amos and Hosea in the northern kingdom, had all preached an absolute monotheism incompatible with the polytheistic tendencies of the mass of the Israelites. They had labored with ardor in the moral and religious reformation of a people hostile to conversion because it was so deeply attached to traditional customs and to the prevalent morality which it had adopted in common with the pagan populations in its immediate neighborhood. But as a matter of fact the prophets of the eighth century were all beyond their times. They were understood only by an elect few.

2. The necessity of a religious and moral reform, in spite of the check upon the prophetic preaching of the eighth century, was no less imposed upon the patriots solicitous for the spiritual interests of their nations. But in order to realize that reform, in order to impose it upon the *milieu* of a very mediocre culture—in a word,

in order to make the spiritual principles of Jehovah-worship penetrate the urban and rural populations of the land of Judah, there was needed a concourse of special and exceptional circumstances to come to the aid of the reformers. This concourse of circumstances presented itself in the seventh century in Judah.

3. About 630 B.C. the Scythians invaded eastern Asia. They formed a terrific invasion, penetrating in 626 into Palestine; but that mountainous and relatively poor country was neither a tempting nor a satisfactory prey to the appetites of these Asiatics. It was Egypt which attracted them. It was toward Egypt, renowned for the riches of its Pharaohs and for its great lords, more celebrated, perhaps, still, even to the very heart of Asia, for the proverbial fertility of its soil, that the Scythians directed themselves, following the coast of Palestine. "This cruel people coming from the north and speaking in an unknown tongue"<sup>5</sup> left on one side, thus sparing it, the little country of Judah, whose inhabitants trembled with fright, their thoughts consequently becoming serious and their hearts open sincerely and piously to the appeals to repent and be converted made by the prophets. The times were ripe for a religious and moral reform. The preaching of the old prophets was at last to yield its fruits.

4. In order to spread abroad among the masses of the people the lofty instruction of the prophets, it was absolutely necessary to do a work of popularization. It was essential to put the Jehovah-worship of the prophets upon the level of the people. However, he who says popularization says diminution. In expressing in a popular book moral and religious ideas as pure and lofty as those of the prophets, it was impossible not to lower the prophetic ideal.

For this commandment which I command thee this day, it is not too hard for thee, neither is it far off. It is not in heaven, that thou shouldest say, Who shall go up for us to heaven, and bring it unto us, and make us to hear it, that we may do it? Neither is it beyond the sea, that thou shouldest say, Who shall go over the sea for us, and bring it unto us, and make us to hear it, that we may do it? But the word is very nigh unto thee, in thy mouth, and in thy heart, that thou mayest do it (Deut. 30:11-14).

<sup>5</sup> See Jer., chaps. 4 and 5 *passim*, and more particularly 4:6 and 5:15-17. Cf. Zephaniah *passim*.

5. This popular book, which was to propagate the Jehovah-worship of the prophets and to call forth a religious and moral reform, was composed and published by some prophets of the seventh century among whom there is every reason to reckon Jeremiah. They wrote it under the form of a sermon, which they placed in the authoritative mouth of Moses, thus using a literary procedure of which antiquity presents more than one example. This discourse of Moses at first included only a part, the principal one, of Deuteronomy, consisting essentially of 4:44 to chaps. 26 and 28. There were added to the primitive book in succession other fragments of Deuteronomy, all originating from the brain and the pen of writers of the same school.

6. This book contained in germ the future reform, and in conformity with a religious usage of which oriental antiquity offered several examples, especially in Egypt, it was deposited in the temple at Jerusalem. The precise spot is unknown. Perhaps it was in the hall of the treasury. The purpose of this deposit, which was not, properly speaking, a *pia fraus* (the word is too strong and appears to us inappropriate), was to give to the book a very religious authority. It was in the temple that the high priest Hilkiah found the book which the prophets had deposited there, a book which was called the *Book of the Law* and much later was called Deuteronomy. It is thus that the religious and moral reform, prepared for long in advance by the prophetic school, became possible in Judah, and was realized by King Josiah in the year 621, the very year of the discovery of the *Book of the Law*. It does not fall to us to say here what was the value of that reform, what it accomplished, or what depth it attained.



## STUDIES IN THE PSALTER<sup>1</sup>

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A. Book I is the most homogeneous and consistent group of psalms in the Psalter. With four exceptions they are all Davidic psalms and many of them so similar in content that if they were read through at a sitting the impression of monotony would be very strong. Certain psalms stand out, like Pss. 8, 19, 22, 32, but the collection as a whole is strikingly repetitious. The anonymous exceptions, therefore, are all the more noticeable. But on examination one of these (Ps. 10) disappears. We have seen that it is a part of Ps. 9 (a Davidic psalm) and actually combined with it in the Septuagint. Pss. 1 and 2 are remarkable as being Orphan psalms. Further it is noticeable that these two psalms are not within the David psalms but stand in front of them. Again it is an interesting fact that in some Hebrew manuscripts Ps. 2 is united with Ps. 1 and in others Ps. 2 is counted as Ps. 1 (so also in what is probably the original reading at Acts 13:33; cf. D and Origen), probably also implying that it was regarded as a part of Ps. 1, or else that Ps. 1, as an introductory psalm, was not counted. The contents of the two psalms (Ps. 1 in praise of the Law, Ps. 2 a great prophecy) suggest that both were placed here as the introduction not only to the first Davidic collection but to the entire Psalter. Their position would then be due to the latest stage of the redaction. It is interesting to note that their anonymous character agrees more with Books IV-V than with Books I-III.

There remains Ps. 33. As Pss. 1 and 2 did not belong to the Davidic collection and Ps. 10 was really a Davidic psalm, Ps. 33 is really the only anonymous psalm in this first collection. The Septuagint supplies a "David," but the other versions agree with the Hebrew in omitting it. The addition of the title is more easily accounted for than its omission, and hence the psalm was probably

<sup>1</sup> Continued from the October issue of the *Biblical World*.

originally anonymous. In that case it was probably smuggled into this Davidic collection at a later date. This anonymous psalm in its present anomalous position is a striking witness to the obscure, irrecoverable history of much of the Psalter.<sup>2</sup>

B. If we now turn to the Elohim Psalter and scrutinize it more closely it will be seen that it can be broken up into several minor Psalters.<sup>3</sup> Our invaluable little fossil, 72:20, must again furnish us with the clue. The editorial note, 72:20, could not have stood originally after a heterogeneous group of psalms by different authors. It can have stood naturally only after a group of Davidic psalms. This correct observation was the basis of the rearrangement of the Elohim Psalter described above. But we are not to argue from this note that the Davidic psalms (Pss. 51-72) once preceded the Korah psalms (Pss. 42-49) but rather that they once *existed as a separate collection*. Ps. 72:20 is not the work of the final editor of the Psalter, but of the earlier editor of the Davidic group (Pss. 51-72). In this group of Davidic psalms Ps. 72 is ascribed to Solomon. As there is no group of Solomonic psalms its present place at the end of the Davidic collection is intelligible and not inconsistent with the concluding note. On the other hand, Pss. 45, 66, 67, 71 are anonymous (LXX again attributes Pss. 67 and 71, not 66, to David, as in the case of Ps. 33). The position of Pss. 66, 67, and 71 is as inexplicable as is the position of Ps. 33.

Our next datum is the anomalous association of the Korah psalms with the Davidic psalms instead of with the Asaph psalms. We should expect the two groups of Levitical psalms to stand together. But instead of supposing that the two Levitical groups originally stood together and were given their present singular position by the Elohim redactor, it seems much simpler and safer to infer that the Korah and Davidic collections once *circulated together*. This should account for the fact that we find them joined in one book and separated from the Asaph psalms, and at the same time the division between Book II and Book III would be seen to be historically justified.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. n. 9.

<sup>3</sup> We have already found that Pss. 84-89 are an addendum to it.

In the middle of the Korah-David collection stands the isolated Asaph psalm (Ps. 50). How did it get here? It is impossible to say, though its affinity with Ps. 51:16, 17 gives rise to interesting conjectures.<sup>4</sup>

If our analysis of Books I-III has been correct, the following stages in the growth of the Psalter are thus far discernible: There was once a time when at least two independent collections of Davidic psalms (Pss. 3-41 and Pss. 51-72) were in circulation (whether at the same time and in the same places is another question). There were also two independent collections of Levitical psalms (the Korah psalms, Pss. 42-49, and the Asaph psalms, Pss. 73-84). This is the first stage. The second stage is represented by the combination of the Korah and David psalms into one group with Ps. 50 probably inserted between them. This collection was identical with the present second book. In the third stage the Asaph psalms were added to the Korah-David psalms just as they stood and the three groups subjected to the great Elohim redaction. The fourth stage is represented by the Jehovistic appendix to this Elohim Psalter. It is possible that we may go one step farther and say that the fifth stage was marked by the union of Book I with the Elohim Psalter. The striking agreement between the redaction of Book I and Books II and III illustrated in their titles, as contrasted with the redaction of Books IV-V, suggests that the first three books were closely associated. Book I was certainly added after the Elohim redaction, otherwise the psalms in Book I also would have been redacted. It is quite possible that these Jehovistic David psalms were added to the Elohim Psalter about the time that the Jehovistic appendix was attached to it. The latter less extensive accretion may have led the way to the greater accretion in the addition of Book I. But this of course is speculation.

C. Our final task in studying the form of the Psalter is the analysis of Books IV and V.

Here Pss. 120-34, the Songs of Ascents, may be isolated at once and regarded as an independent collection. The most probable translation of the common title at the head of each of these psalms

<sup>4</sup>I hope elsewhere to discuss the position of Ps. 50 more at length.



corroborates this. It is not to be translated "A Song of Ascents," as if this were the title of each individual psalm, in spite of the fact that the ancient versions so understood it, but, in accordance with a peculiar Hebrew idiom, "The Songs of Ascents." The title is thus seen to be the title of the *collection*, from which the individual songs were taken.

The interpretation of the Hebrew word *ma'aloth* ("Ascents," A.R.V.) as Pilgrimages still remains the most natural interpretation. Accordingly Pss. 120-34 once comprised an independent collection entitled "The Pilgrim Songs."<sup>5</sup> Another group of psalms is the group of Hallel psalms, i.e., those psalms which are either introduced or concluded by the liturgical addition *Hallelujah* ("Praise ye Jehovah"). But that these once formed an *independent* collection is more than doubtful. The Hallel psalms do not form a clear-cut group like the Davidic psalms of the first two books or the Korah or Asaph or Pilgrim psalms. They are distributed in *series* in the last two books as follows: Pss. 104-6, 111-13, 115-17, 135, 146-50.

Further, the tradition as to the Hallel varies in a remarkable way. According to the Hebrew text there are really three kinds of Hallel: (a) those which have only a final Hallel, Pss. 104, 105, 115, 116, 117; (b) those which have only an initial Hallel, Pss. 111, 112; and (c) those which have *both* an initial and a final Hallel, Pss. 106, 113, 135, 146-150. The LXX, on the contrary, consistently has only the *initial* Hallel. When there is a concluding Hallel in the Hebrew text, this is either omitted, if the following psalm has an initial Hallel, or it becomes the initial Hallel of the following psalm if the initial Hallel is wanting in the Hebrew.

The result of these changes is greater regularity in the series of Hallel psalms. Thus the final Hallel of Ps. 104 becomes the initial Hallel of Ps. 105 and Ps. 104 is excluded from the Hallel. On

<sup>5</sup> The explanation of *Ascents* of the steplike rhythm of some of these psalms (e.g., Ps. 121) is too artificial, and, further, this rhythm is not characteristic of *all* of the Songs of Ascents (e.g., Ps. 132). The name has also been explained by the tradition that these fifteen psalms were sung on the fifteen steps which led from the court of the women to the court of the men in the temple inclosure on the first evening of the Feast of Tabernacles. But this explanation is based on a misunderstanding of a talmudic passage.

the other hand, the final Hallel of Pss. 106, 113, 117, and 135 becomes the initial Hallel of Pss. 107, 114, 118, and 136, respectively, and we arrive at a new series of Hallel psalms, viz., Pss. 105-7 (instead of Pss. 104-6), 111-18 (Pss. 114 and 118 now included), 135 and 136, and 146-50.<sup>6</sup>

This is a better arrangement than the Hebrew text, (a) because Ps. 107 is more intimately connected with Pss. 105, 106 than is Ps. 104; (b) because Pss. 118 and 136 were regarded as Hallel psalms in the earliest Jewish tradition and Ps. 136 is further closely connected with Ps. 135; (c) because Ps. 114, if it were not a Hallel, would break the group of Hallels 111-17 (118) in an unaccountable way.

Yet the arrangement of the LXX text, though better than the Hebrew, is itself more or less artificial. For example, the tone of Ps. 106, from vs. 6 on, is anything but joyous. It is altogether probable that vss. 1-5 have been added for liturgical purposes. In other words, Ps. 106 was not originally a Hallel. Again the LXX joins together Pss. 114 and 115. While Ps. 114 is only a torso, the beginning of a historical review like Pss. 105-7, yet Ps. 115 cannot have been its original continuation. Yet on the theory of the LXX, which only allows initial Hallels, Ps. 115 would not be a Hallel unless joined to Ps. 114 and subsumed under the initial Hallel of that psalm.

These variations in the tradition and artificialities in the arrangement of the Hallel psalms render the theory of a special collection of Hallel psalms quite improbable.

A third group of psalms may be distinguished in Book IV, the so-called Royal psalms, Pss. 93-100<sup>7</sup> in which the phrases *Jehovah reigns* or *Jehovah is King* are constantly recurring. But while these psalms form a group closely connected in temper, thought, and style, there is no evidence that they formed a Psalter.

Finally we meet with a number of Davidic psalms in Books IV and V. But these do not form a distinct group of psalms as

<sup>6</sup> The LXX also includes Ps. 119 among the Hallels and this, too, is recognized in the later Jewish tradition. In the case of Pss. 105 and 146-49 the LXX *omits* the final Hallel of the Hebrew text. Only in the case of Ps. 150 are *both* the initial and the final Hallels retained.

<sup>7</sup> Pss. 94 and 95b interrupt these Royal psalms in an unfortunate way.

in Books I and II, but are distributed through the last two books in an almost haphazard fashion. There are, (*a*) the two isolated Davidic psalms, Pss. 101 and 103, in Book IV; (*b*) the two clusters of Davidic psalms in Book V, viz., Pss. 109-10 and Pss. 138-45; and (*c*) the isolated Davidic psalms scattered through the Pilgrim Psalter (Pss. 122, 124, 131, and 133). There is no evidence here of any third collection of Davidic psalms.

If we look at the collection in Books IV and V as a whole, its miscellaneous character is in striking contrast with the orderly, symmetrical arrangement of the preceding books.

- a*) Pss. 90-92 may possibly be regarded as forming a little topical group.
- b*) Pss. 93-100, the Royal psalms (interrupted by Pss. 94 and 95*b*).
- c*) Pss. 101-4, isolated psalms, of which Pss. 101 and 103 are assigned to David.
- d*) Pss. 105-7 (LXX), Hallels; anonymous.
- e*) Pss. 108-10, Davidic.
- f*) Pss. 111-18 (119? LXX), Hallels; anonymous.
- g*) Pss. 120-34. The Pilgrim psalms.
- h*) Pss. 135-36 (LXX) Hallels; anonymous.
- i*) Ps. 137, isolated; anonymous.
- j*) Pss. 138-45, Davidic.
- k*) Pss. 146-50, Hallels; anonymous.

One final question remains to be answered in connection with Books IV and V. Is the book-division at the end of Ps. 106 justified? We have seen that there are good historical reasons for the divisions at the end of Book I and Book III and even at the end of Book II. These books originally represented independent psalters. But is this the case with Books IV and V? It has all along been assumed that it is not, that the division here is purely artificial. The more detailed discussion of this point will have to be deferred, however, till a later point in our investigation.



## THE YAHWEH-TEHOM MYTH

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The Epic of Creation as given by the Babylonian tablets describing the conflict between the god Marduk and Tiamat, the dragon of the "deep," begins with a dark, turbulent, watery abyss as already existing, and impersonated by this female monster. Marduk wages war against her, and after a terrible conflict succeeds in killing her. He then divides her body into two halves. Out of one he makes a dome-shaped covering for the heavens, with the evident idea that by this means the upper waters of the now divided "deep" were to be kept from descending upon the lower waters. Nothing is said in these tablets as to what became of the other half, but the Babylonian priest, Berosos, informs us that out of it was made the earth. Here, however, the earth is made without any reference to the body of Tiamat, Marduk himself creating an earth structure which he places upon the face of the lower waters.<sup>1</sup> The Hebrew record of the Creation similarly opens with an already existing dark, turbulent, watery abyss named *tehom* (Gen. 1:2), a Hebrew word corresponding to the Babylonian Tiamat. After first creating light, Yahweh next proceeds to subdue, or bring under control, the surging waters of the turbulent abyss. He then divides it into two portions, making of the one the upper, and of the other the lower ocean. To keep the upper waters in their place, he creates a domelike support, *rakia*, correctly rendered in all our versions "firmament," since the original signifies something beaten out, hammered out of a hard substance. The earth is then formed and placed upon the face of the lower waters out of which its material had been gathered.

It is abundantly evident that in both accounts we have a similar conception of the heaven and the earth created out of a pre-existing personified watery abyss, or "deep," so that in both we have the same underlying myth. Thus, the only point to settle is, as to whether

<sup>1</sup> Jastrow, *Bab. Assy. Relig.*, 428 ff.

there is to be seen in the Hebrew narrative any reference to an assumed personal conflict between Yahweh and Tehom. Sayce tells us, "we look for it in vain,"<sup>2</sup> and even Whitehouse speaks of "the complete obliteration of . . . the titanic struggle between Tiamat and Marduk," while accepting the view that the Hebrew scribe presents us with what after all is but a purified form of an original Babylonian tradition.<sup>3</sup> Other writers, however, while equally admitting that nothing *direct* is said in the Hebrew revision as to any personal conflict between Yahweh and Tehom, yet assert that it was not so completely obliterated but that traces of it are still to be seen. Thus, not only is Zimmern correct in claiming that with the mention of Tehom in the Hebrew narrative, together with the dividing of this watery abyss into the upper and lower oceans by means of the "firmament," we see a slight but a distinctly discernible trace of the original Babylonian story (*ibid.*, 13), but when this is compared with other allusions to a *personified* "deep" in other parts of the Old Testament, the lurking Tiamat hidden in Gen. 1:2, 6 stands out in clear light.

Throughout the whole of the Old Testament there is present the conception that the ocean or waters of the great "deep" possess a conscious power hostile to Yahweh, who has to keep it under restraint by "bounds" and "decrees," setting "watchers" that it should not break through these. With the passage where Job asks whether he is a sea monster over whom Yahweh has to set a watch should be compared Jeremiah's representation of Yahweh as placing "the sand for the bound of the sea . . . that it cannot pass it" (Job 7:12; Jer. 5:22); and both, with the statement in the Babylonian Epic. "Mero-dach a wide space on the face of the sea bound round; He made dust and poured it on the space . . . around the sea made an embankment." It is, however, when we come to a description of the active violence of the great "deep" that we see plainly the Hebrews had in mind an ancient Babylonian legend. The spirit of "the raging flood" is referred to as Rahab, the fierce dragon of the "deep," or sea. Job declares, "God will not withdraw his anger, the helpers of Rahab do (or did) stoop under him." This is explained by another passage, where we read, "He stilleth the sea with his power, and by

<sup>2</sup> *The Higher Criticism*, 73.

<sup>3</sup> Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, art. "Cosmogony," 506a; Ryle, *ibid.*, 13.

his understanding he smiteth through Rahab" (9:13; cf. 26:12). There can be little doubt, says Dr. Selbie, that we have here an allusion "to the mythical conflict in which the Creator was said to have vanquished the supposed dragon of the deep."<sup>4</sup> Zimmern quotes Ps. 89:9, "When the sea rageth, when the waves thereof arise, thou stillest them. . . . Thou hast broken Rahab as one that is slain." Here undoubtedly we have a reference to Marduk having broken the dead body of Tiamat in two, and scattered her followers. Zimmern then gives another passage (Isa. 51:9), "Is it not thou that didst cut Rahab in pieces, that didst pierce the monster?" (R.V.), adding those we have already referred to, and concludes, "We are justified, therefore, in speaking of an ancient Israelite Jahve-Tehom myth, as . . . bound up with the biblical story of Creation."<sup>5</sup> Surely he is correct, and is not Professor Driver also abundantly justified in his statements (1), that "Read without prejudice or bias the narrative of Gen., chap. 1, creates the impression at variance with the facts revealed by science; (2), that it is in its main outlines derived from Babylonia" (*ibid.*, 30)?

A new apologist, however, for the Hebrew cosmogony as an independent record has arisen in the person of the noted scholar, Rev. C. H. W. Johns. In an article entitled "The Influence of Babylonian Mythology on the Old Testament,"<sup>6</sup> he says:

The Babylonians spoke of a certain Monster Tiamat. But Tiamat may be nothing whatever but water, and the theory that all was once water is as really scientific as the opinion that all was once gaseous matter. Now, water in the form of an ocean was such a restless, fierce monster to early man that to speak of it as a dragon was natural. It does not follow, therefore, that the Babylonian myth is so different from the Hebrew explanation. It may be a matter of more or less mythological language.

He further holds that there is no necessity to go directly to Babylonian sources in order to account for the Hebrews having a Deluge story or a Cosmogony. All we have to do is to carry both back to some common Semitic ancestor. Dr. Johns, if I am not mistaken, has advanced nothing that contradicts the views of Dr. Driver. The assumption that the view that all have may been water at one time is as scientific as the view that all was once gaseous matter, even if

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.*, art. "Rahab."

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 12.

<sup>6</sup> *Essays on Some Biblical Questions of the Day.*



true, has nothing whatever to do with the order of creation as represented either in the Babylonian or Hebrew narratives. Both of these, picturing a mass of waters as existing before anything else, go on to describe our universe, with its sun, moon, and stars, its sky above, and its earth beneath, as created out of these waters without any change in their physical character. But this contemplates the existence of our earth with its sky and sea, not as the outcome of an evolutionary process, such as we know it to have gone through, but of a mere mechanical division of permanent elements. Now, no such process occurred, since it is utterly opposed to the generally accepted view of the formation of our universe. The whole idea of a dark, turbulent mass of waters as existing before the creation of our universe, is contrary to the facts as revealed by science.

The view of Dr. Johns, if I have correctly understood him, that the dragon Tiamat existed in the minds of the Babylonians as a mere mythological expression, without the belief in any concrete reality, may be dismissed, on the ground that it assumes that the belief in the real existence of supernatural monsters has never actually been held by anybody. Such a supposition is disposed of by Professor W. R. Smith in his dismissal of the notion that the fantastic monsters engraved by the Chaldeans and continued by the Phoenicians in the Cherubim and Sphinxes can be explained away as allegories. A belief in mythical creatures he holds to have been a *real* belief, and explains it as resulting from the primitive thought of savages in all parts of the world, which, he says, everywhere produces just such a confusion between the several orders of natural and supernatural beings as we find to have existed among the early Semites."<sup>7</sup>

In closing this paper, it may be well to point out that besides the cosmogony of Gen., chap. 1, which we have examined, there is another of an earlier period, and of an entirely different character in Gen. 2:4 ff. That in Gen., chap. 1, represents the earth as emerging from the lower waters, and therefore makes no reference to the lack of moisture for the growth of plants and herbs, such as we see in Gen. 2:5. This difference springs from the fact that the first account was originally composed in the region where the overflowing of a great river each spring was the cause of the later vegetation. This is one of the reasons for giving this narrative a Babylonian origin.

<sup>7</sup> *Religion of the Semites*, 89.

It is now time to ask, If the Bible presents a cosmogony which the teaching of science presumably shows to be contrary to fact, what is the use of retaining this as part of an inspired volume? Here I would recall the warning given in closing my first paper, viz., It is not in the body of information comprising the Old Testament that we are to see its revelation, but in the spirit which animates it throughout. Again it may be asked, How is this spirit to be definitely discerned, and in what manner is it manifested in this chapter? We reply first, It is discerned throughout the Old Testament in the description it gives us of the righteousness of Yahweh's character; it is manifested in the relationship it here establishes between man and his Maker. Confining ourselves, however, to the cosmogony of Genesis, the spirit is to be seen in the following divine message: As God made and rules the universe, so he made man to rule the earth (Gen. 1:26, 28), where, as his representative, he was to enjoy his companionship (cf. 3:8), all the repayment asked being obedience (Gen. 2:15-17; cf. I Sam. 15:22). How different is the message of the Babylonian epic. Here man is created simply to establish the service of the gods, and to build their altars.<sup>8</sup> In other words, the Babylonian epic exalts deity by the servile lowering of humanity; while the biblical narrative by the uplifting of humanity elevates deity. Now, the vital point in this chapter is not, as some writers have claimed, though Dillmann has correctly denied, the naming of God as creator of the universe, since deity is so named in other cosmogonies. Nor is it in the practically monotheistic tone that pervades it, as this also is seen elsewhere. But it is, as I have said, in the relationship which it establishes between God and man. Here is the vital point, the spirit, the divine element, to which is owing the fact that while Gen., chap. 1, contains traces of its pagan source, it is so purified from the grossness of its original version that the similarity between this and its Hebrew revision is not often recognized except by a student of comparative religion. Here then is the reason why we retain an unscientific cosmogony in an inspired volume. On its scientific side it is of little value, except for the study of primitive ideas. On its theological side, it is of *inestimable* value in teaching us of the true relation between God and man.

<sup>8</sup> Driver, *Genesis*, 30.

## THE HEBREW AND THE GREEK IDEAS OF LIFE

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Matthew Arnold's famous distinction between "Hebraism and Hellenism" is misleading, and rests upon a fundamental misconception of the spirit of the ancient Hebrews. In *Culture and Anarchy* he discusses what he calls the "two points of influence" between which "moves our world." These he calls the forces of Hebraism and Hellenism, the one representing the effort to win peace by self-conquest, a moral impulse; the other, the effort to see things as they really are, an intellectual impulse. The essential difference between Hebraism and Hellenism, as Arnold distinguishes them, is that "Hebraism has always been severely pre-occupied with an awful sense of the impossibility of being at ease in Zion." All through the essay he implies that the Hebrew spirit was one of somber gloom, in contrast to the joyous spontaneity that he attributes to the Greek.

Now such a distinction as this, in order to be valid, must be based upon conclusions drawn from a comparative examination of the literatures of the two peoples, for literature is the only authentic record of the life of a race. Such a comparative examination of Hebrew literature with that of Hellas clearly demonstrates that the spirit of Hebraism, at least before it narrowed into Judaism, was in no sense the antithesis of that of Hellenism.

In the attempt to test the validity of Arnold's distinction, it was found advisable to limit the investigation to a comparison of the Greek and the Hebrew spirit as shown in the habitual attitude of mind of the two peoples toward life, toward inanimate nature, and toward the Supreme Being. Obviously it will hardly be possible, within the limits of such an article as this, to do more than state the results of the investigation without giving in detail the process by which the conclusions were reached.



Upon a comparison of the Greek with the Hebrew attitude toward life, it was found that the Greeks, in contrast to the Hebrews, were not a particularly hopeful people. This statement does not refer to their belief in a future life, but merely to their attitude toward what the future had in store for them here on the earth. Their sense of man's helplessness in the hands of a mysterious fate accounts in part for the peculiar way in which the Greek authors speak of hope. They nearly always speak of it as a delusive phantom—an illusion born of an uncertain future. Thus Theognis (637-38) speaks of Hope and Peril as deities closely associated, equally dangerous to men. To the Greek, hopes were, as Pindar is said to have called them, "the dreams of waking men." To the Greek, hope might be "the poor man's wealth," but while it thus might become the consolation of the weak, it could not be a source of additional strength to the strong.

Such a prevalent distrust of the future is clearly reflected in Greek history. Among Greek historians of the classical age there is absolutely no trace of the idea that the human race as a whole, or any single nation, is progressing toward the fulfilment of a divinely ordered destiny. Herodotus' history, for example, seems as if written to illustrate the insecurity of mortal happiness. Throughout the history it is in the hour of men's impious triumph, when they seem most secure in the possession of life and happiness, that Fate brings them to misery, or slits the thin-spun life. To the Greek the future was full of dire possibilities—poverty, exile, sickness, death. In the face of such uncertainties, the virtue of the Greek was resignation rather than hope—a calm acceptance of the will of the gods, without any joyful anticipations. Consequently, though often, and perhaps usually, a man of cheerful yesterdays, he was never a man of confident tomorrows. In the absence of hope for the future the Greeks turned for inspiration mainly to the past, to the mythical heroes of song and legend, and to the deeds of their ancestors in the far-off Golden Age.

Like the Greeks, the Hebrews also looked backward to a Golden Age when God had walked and talked with men, when men and animals had lived at peace. So well had men understood their poor relations, the animals, in that far-off time that they had

held converse with the beasts of the field, even with the serpent, the lowest, albeit the subtlest of them all. But, unlike the Greeks, the Hebrews looked not only backward but forward to a Golden Age. They were the only people of antiquity who conceived of a Golden Age as the beginning and end of human history. This future Golden Age was to be no less ideal, though less primitive, than the first had been. Apparently it was not thought of in a uniform way in any age, nor always consistently by the same writers, yet they all agree in describing its beginning. It was to be introduced by the advent of Jehovah himself (Isa. 40:9-12; 52:7-12) or of the Messiah (Isa. 9:9-10). The conditions of the new era are variously described, sometimes in language that implies no more than the establishment of redeemed Israel in the first place among the nations (Jer. 33:17-22; Ezek. 37:25); at other times in words that suggest that they looked forward to a change in Nature itself, and the creation of a new earth (Dan. 2:44; 7:14 and 27). Often they spoke of it as a time when the happiness of Eden would be restored. Men will be exempt from the ills that flesh is heir to, "the inhabitant shall not say I am sick." The harmony between men and their surroundings will be of a kind to reproduce the conditions suitable to long life such as the patriarchs enjoyed. So much will longevity be the rule that one dying a hundred years old will be thought to have met an untimely end (Isa. 65:20). Once more in that future time will there be a truce of God, when the wolf and the lamb shall feed together, and the lion eat straw like the bullock, when they shall not hurt nor destroy in all God's holy mountain.

The degree to which this hope affected the Hebrews' political outlook is hard to overestimate. It sustained them even during the long exile, when the scepter seemed forever to have departed from Judah. It comforted them while they groaned under the oppression of the Greek, and the yet more galling yoke of Roman domination, for to them, they believed, Jehovah had pledged his word that a blessed future was in store for the nation, and had added, "I the Lord will hasten it in his time." Nothing can be more striking than the contrast between the political pessimism of Plato, for example, and the exultant optimism of some of the

prophets. Such a difference is not to be accounted for by any superiority over the Greeks in point of continued national prosperity. Indeed, what difference there was in this respect was all in favor of the Greeks. No people ancient or modern ever had more to dishearten them in their thought of their national future than had the Hebrews; and yet no people looked forward so exultantly.

The exultation with which the Hebrews thought of their political future was the logical result of their conception of God's relation with them. The nation had been rebellious and had sinned; therefore God as a God of righteousness must punish them. Hence arose the idea first expressed by the prophets of the eighth century, that the fall of the nation Israel was to be the triumph of their God—the victory of righteousness over sin. When the Hebrews in the course of their spiritual development finally attained to this conception of their political history, their religion broke for the first time through the bonds of nationality and became a universal religion, instead of the religion of a single people. In the second chapter of Isaiah and in Jeremiah this conception of Israel's as a world-religion found complete expression. In their thought the kingdoms of the world are destined to become the kingdom of Jehovah; and in this destiny they saw the final aim as well as the crowning glory of Israel's mission. That Jehovah's house should be called "the house of prayer unto all nations" was to be the consummation of God's purpose toward which he was directing human history. This purpose was to be attained by Israel's becoming perfect through suffering, and hence fit to be the evangelist of the world.

Nor does the political hopefulness of the Hebrew in contrast to the lack of it in the Greek, appear alone in his vision of a future glory for the nation at large. It is evidenced also in the difference between the Greek and the Hebrew ideal of citizenship. The Greek ideal of the *καλὸς κἀγαθός* was an aristocratic one. It could be approached only by the favored few, by the wise, the noble, and the strong. It was wholly unattainable by the ignorant, the fallen, the feeble of the earth. Such an ideal tended persistently toward the intensification of existing inequalities. The Hebrew



prophets, on the other hand, filled with the hope of seeing established in the world a reign of universal justice, were impatient of social inequalities. Their ideal of citizenship was one that could be attained by the poor and the oppressed, for it required only to do justly, to love mercy, and to walk humbly with God.

So far as the attitude of the Greek and the Hebrew toward life present and future here on the earth can be determined, it would appear that the latter was "more at ease in Zion," to employ Arnold's phrase, than was the former; and that he was so because his political outlook for the nation and for the individual was a more hopeful one.

The Greek was not only less hopeful, but less appreciative of natural beauty than the Hebrew. At least his appreciation of natural beauty was less catholic. Within certain well-defined limits, the Greek enjoyment of Nature was intense; outside those limits, Nature was to him an object of distrust. She then became Calypso the concealer, and Circe the sorceress. Nature to the Greek, as Mr. Mabie has pointed out in speaking of Nature in Greek and mediæval thought, emphasized her beauty, and kept her terrors in the background. But the fact that the vast and awful forces of Nature were kept in the background, while the emphasis was put persistently upon the benignant aspects of Nature resulted in a limitation of the range of the Greek's appreciation. As a result, only the cultivated landscape appealed to him as beautiful. Only once in all classical Greek literature (in the *Critias* of Plato) are mountains spoken of explicitly as possessing beauty. Ruskin in *Modern Painters* has noted the fact that every Homeric landscape intended to be beautiful is composed of a fountain, a meadow, and a grove. Rivers are sometimes in Greek literature spoken of as beautiful; but the adjective was applied only to gently flowing streams, which were looked upon as distributors of fertility. Turbulent rivers had for the Greek no beauty; to him they suggested only anger and strength. Thus we find Homer using the ravages of a swollen river as a simile for destructive force. Somewhat so it was with the Greek feeling for the sea. The majesty and loveliness of the sea, the Greek delighted to portray; but its somber moods frightened him. It was his fear that caused him

to adopt the principle of euphemism. The Black Sea, for instance, the Greeks had called *ὁ πόντος ἄξεινος* (the inhospitable sea) from the supposed terrors of its navigation, but later they altered the name to *ὁ πόντος εὖξεινος* (the hospitable sea), not because they feared it less than formerly, but because they wished to avoid using words of evil omen.

Of all natural objects, it was with trees alone that the Greeks felt a sympathy that was almost human, and that knew no limitations. They shared with other primitive peoples—the Egyptians, the Hindus, the Persians, the Scandinavians—the belief that in trees there existed a mysterious life. All the ancient peoples about whose mythology we know anything believed in a tree of life, that is in a plant or tree whose fruit partaken of in a purely physical way was able to bestow immortality. Such in Greek mythology were the apples of the Hesperides. They grew on an island of the ocean whither no ship could penetrate, in the orchards of the Hesperian Fields. Earth gave them to Juno upon her marriage to Jove; and whoever ate of them attained eternal youth.

The Hebrew feeling for Nature was as intense as that of the Greek, and was far more inclusive. Not limited to an enjoyment of the mild aspects of Nature, it included such scenes as in the Greek inspired only fear. The greater catholicity of the Hebrew appreciation of Nature was due to a fundamental difference in the way the two peoples thought of Nature in relation to God. To both the Greek and the Hebrew Nature was divine. They differed only in their understanding of the relation between the material and the spiritual. The Greek, keenly susceptible to natural beauty within limits already indicated, thought of Nature as the elemental reality, the soul of whose beauty was embodied in the divinities who haunted it. The thought of the gods was, then, the artistic completion of his thought of Nature.

Quite different was the Hebrew view of the relation of Nature to God. To the Hebrew God was the primary reality; Nature was secondary. Not only was it true that without him was not anything made that was made, but the continued existence of Nature was dependent on his will. The Hebrew thought of Nature as a mere shadow, finding the essence of its beauty as well as the

sustaining power of its life in One whose providential care watched over the great things and the small—who brought forth Mazzaroth in his season and provided for the raven his food.

It is characteristic of Hebrew poetry (Humboldt said in his *Cosmos*) that as a reflex of monotheism, it always embraces the whole world in its unity, comprehending the life of the terrestrial globe as well as the shining regions of space. It dwells less on details of phenomena, and loves to contemplate great masses. Nature is portrayed, not as self-subsisting, or glorious in her own beauty, but ever in relation to a higher, an over-ruling, a spiritual power. The Hebrew bard ever sees in her the living expression of the omnipresence of God in the works of the visible creation.

Because of this, we find in the Old Testament no landscape descriptions as such. There is no description of the sunrise; no picture of the sea. Only when we consider the wealth of poetic material strewn among the pages of the Old Testament, and used by the Hebrew poets simply in the way of allusion and incidental illustration, can we realize how deep and inclusive their appreciation of natural beauty really was, considered as a revelation of the divine. Though there is no description of the sunrise, can one doubt the delight of the poet when he compares it to "a bridegroom coming out of his chamber," and to a strong man rejoicing to run a race? Nor can we question that of the author of the comparison of the just ruler, who "shall be" he says, "as the light of the morning when the sun ariseth, even as a morning without clouds; as the tender grass springing out of the earth in the clear shining after rain." And though there is no picture of the sea, the passing image: "The wicked are like the troubled sea, when it cannot rest, whose waters cast up mire and dirt. There is no peace, saith my God, to the wicked" is, as Carlyle would say, significant of much. The sea had no terrors for the Hebrew, for he believed implicitly that "the sea is his, and he made it" (Ps. 95:5), and that "the deep also obeys God" (Ps. 94:7). Nay, even the roar of its voice was to the Hebrew not the sound of anger, but of acclamation. There is in Greek mythology no such sublime personification of the sea as that in the third chapter of Habakkuk, where describing the accompaniments of the theophany, the prophet describes the sea as uttering his voice and lifting up his hands on high. In that single statement we have a wealth of poetic suggestion that makes the Greek



mythology seem by comparison petty. Aphrodite "born in the foam of the sea," and Thetis with her "tinsel-slippered feet" cannot for a moment compare in sublimity with this image of the sea, greeting with an inarticulate *Te Deum* the Creator coming to judge the earth; and lifting before Him in adoration the white hands of its foam-capped waves. Nor were the Hebrews less susceptible than the Greeks to the beauty of the trees. The cedars that waved on Lebanon were not less but more beautiful in their eyes for being "the cedars which he hath planted" (Ps. 104:16). The growth of the tree became to them the symbol of spiritual growth: "The righteous shall grow like a cedar in Lebanon" (Ps. 92:12) and "shall be like a tree planted by the rivers of waters" (Ps. 1:1). So great was their regard for trees that by the provisions of the Deuteronomic code they were forbidden to cut them down even in an enemy's country, "for the tree of the field is man's life" (Deut. 20:19).

The Hebrew never considered natural objects as beautiful in and for themselves, but as beautiful or majestic symbols of God. Though this way of looking at them may seem to imply a limitation of his appreciation of natural beauty, it really increased it by rendering visible the spiritual significance of things which to the Greek had excited fear, or at most had aroused but a languid interest. Thus the mountains round about Jerusalem came to symbolize God's protecting care for his people; and the fact of their being such a symbol emphasized their beauty. The rushing river, which to the Greek suggested only destructive force, became to the Hebrew a symbol of the coming of Jehovah to punish the wicked and to save his people. "He shall come as a rushing stream which the breath of Jehovah driveth" (Isa. 59:19).

More inclusive and more spiritual than the feeling of the Greek for Nature was that of the Hebrew. To him all nature was, as it were, the garment of God, hiding and yet revealing his personal presence. Or it was a symphony of praise filling the earth, as on solemn feast-days the music of Israel's *Te Deums* filled the Temple courts. With such a conception of Nature, the Hebrew felt a security in her more awful manifestations which the Greek could not have known.

The Greek and the Hebrew thought of God was closely allied to their thought of Nature. Indeed, their thought of Nature was part of their thought of God. We have just seen that the Hebrew looked upon the earth as a temple filled with the harmony of a mighty orchestra whose music was the gladness of the world. "In his temple every thing saith glory," sang the Hebrew poet (Ps. 29:9). The Greek conception of Nature was also closely connected with his worship. But, unlike that of the Hebrew, his worship was tinged with distrust. For his lack of confidence in the deity there was abundant justification. The most reliable authority from which to ascertain the nature of Greek theological beliefs is Homer. He, with Hesiod, was regarded by the Greeks themselves as the founder of the national religion. It is to Homer, then, that we must turn for authentic information about early Greek theological beliefs. Here we find that the nature of the gods was far from being such as to inspire implicit confidence. Though immortal, they are not omnipotent. There was a point beyond which they could not give to man the help he needed. For every man's destiny was controlled by a fate to which even the gods were subject, and which neither men nor gods could alter. Moreover, the gods were thought to be to a certain extent capricious. To secure and retain their favor men could not afford to neglect them, but must observe the omens by which they were thought to make known their wishes. Above all, man should be reverent, and religiously practice moderation in his conduct and in his thoughts. Otherwise the gods might easily become offended or jealous, and withdraw their favor. Nor were the gods indissolubly connected with the moral order of the world. This is shown by the fact that the punishment of crime, both in this world and the next, was committed to the Furies, or Erinnyes. Such gods with their limitations, their caprices, and their deviations from moral rectitude, could never have fully satisfied the deeper needs of the human spirit, nor ever have exercised any strong moral influence. That they *were* found inadequate is proved by the changes that Greek theology underwent in the sixth century B.C. when Greek religion became more monotheistic, and when Aeschylus and Sophocles by their criticism of existing beliefs

voiced the new spirit of rationalism. Yet, in spite of the rise in Greece of the rationalistic, and even of the philosophic spirit, the Greeks never attained to a complete realization of a god who "ruleth by his power forever; his eyes behold the nations" (Ps. 66:7); whose "faithfulness is unto all generations" (Ps. 119:90); who, as the Judge of all the earth, cannot but do right (Gen. 18:25).

In the universal presence of the deity both the Greek and the Hebrew implicitly believed. The conception of an absentee God, ruling the world by a cunningly devised system of interferences it was left for later theologians to formulate. Both peoples believed heartily in what has since been called the immanence of God, but the accompaniments of this belief were in the case of the two peoples somewhat different. Plutarch in the *Morals* wrote:

Polycrates was formidable at Samos, and so was Periander at Corinth; but no man ever feared either of them that had escaped to an equal and free government. But he that dreads the divine government . . . . Whither can he remove? Whither can he fly? What land, what sea can he find where God is not?

Similarly, and yet in how different a spirit, the Hebrew poet sings:

Whither shall I go from thy spirit,  
Or whither shall I flee from thy presence?  
.  
If I take the wings of the morning,  
And dwell in the uttermost parts of the sea;  
Even there shall thy hand lead me,  
And thy right hand shall hold me.

Ps. 139:7-9.

The difference is due to the greater confidence the Hebrew poet felt in the presence of the deity, a confidence due to his exultant belief that he could not escape Jehovah's loving care.

Certain correspondences and differences have been pointed out between the Greek and the Hebrew attitude toward life, and toward Nature; and an explanation for these differences has been sought in the fundamental theological conceptions of the two peoples. In conclusion it may be said in justice to Arnold that though his distinction between Hebraism and Hellenism is totally misleading,



it would have been entirely valid had he used the term Judaism instead of Hebraism. Yet though the confusion on the part of the author may have been one of terms rather than of ideas, we are still justified in reminding ourselves that Arnold's distinction by its terminology attributes to Hebraism an austerity and somber gloom which really did not characterize it.



A SACRIFICIAL OFFERING UPON A GREEK ALTAR

## JESUS' ARREST AND TRIAL<sup>1</sup>

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### DISCUSSION OF THE TEXT

For the most part, the sources for this material are found in Mark's Gospel. Matthew has incorporated nearly everything that Mark has, adding a few verses, for example 26: 52, 54, from some other source. Mark has one incident (Mark 14: 51, 52) which neither of the other writers uses. Luke adds the incident of the healing of the ear (Luke 22: 51). The matter in John and Luke (John 18: 1-27; Luke 22: 39-71) differs somewhat in detail from the Mark-Matthew accounts, but not in such a way as to give rise to any serious problems. John adds color and definiteness, showing a greater interest than the synoptists in the details of the events.

Our material begins at the close of the narrative of the Passover supper. Luke notes the fact incidentally that it was the custom of Jesus to go out to the Mount of Olives and says that the disciples also followed him (Luke 22: 39); while John says Jesus oftentimes resorted thither with his disciples (John 18: 2). Luke does not name the place Gethsemane nor does John (John 18: 1), who says it was over the brook Kidron where was a garden. John puts this event following the high-priestly prayer of Jesus in John, chap. 17, which came after the last discourses recorded in John, chaps. 14 to 16 inclusive. Matthew and Mark both name the garden in their accounts. Neither Luke nor John mentions the taking with him of Peter, James, and John further into the garden than the others. Luke says he was parted from them about a stone's cast (Luke 22: 41), while John does not intimate that he was separated from them at all or that there was any prayer or agony in the garden; simply that Jesus and his disciples went to the garden and that Judas knowing the place, having received a band

<sup>1</sup> This study covers the International Uniform Sunday School Lessons for November 20, 27, and December 4.

or cohort of soldiers and officers from the chief priests, came to arrest him (John 18:3). Luke speaks of Jesus' prayer to have the cup removed as having been uttered but once, when an angel came and strengthened him, after which he prayed the more earnestly until the sweat became blood (Luke is the only one who mentions this [22:43, 44], and these verses are missing in several of the best manuscripts and are regarded by most scholars to be probably an interpolation). Returning to the disciples he found them sleeping from sorrow (Luke 22:45). Matthew and Mark explain this sleep by saying that their eyes were heavy (Matt. 26:43; Mark 14:40). In Luke the disciples as they enter the garden and at the close of Jesus' praying, are enjoined by him to pray that they enter not into temptation, while Matthew and Mark put this injunction after the first return of Jesus to find the three asleep, and make Jesus add, apparently with sympathy, "the spirit indeed is willing but the flesh is weak."

All the evangelists imply that Judas was leading the company that came for the arrest. The synoptists agree that Judas kissed Jesus, but John simply says he was "standing with them" (John 18:5). Matthew and Mark say that the kiss had been agreed upon as a sign to the band, implying that in the darkness they might arrest the wrong person. Luke records a rebuke uttered by Jesus to Judas: "Betrayest thou the Son of Man with a kiss?" (22:48) implying that Jesus also understood that the kiss was only a means of identifying him to the soldiers. All the writers tell of the attempt on the part of one to defend Jesus by force of arms, and their accounts are in substantial agreement. All say that it was the servant of the high priest who received the blow and the wound. Luke 22:49 makes the disciples ask, "Shall we smite with the sword?" and John gives the servant's name as Malchus and the one giving the blow as Peter (18:10). Luke—the physician—adds that Jesus touched the ear and healed it (18:51). Matthew (26:52) and John (18:11) record Jesus' bidding to put up the sword, Matthew adding that those who take the sword shall perish with the sword, while John records the question, "The cup which my Father hath given me shall I not drink it?" In Matthew (26:53) Jesus reminds them that he can summon twelve legions of angels



if he will, but that the Scriptures must be fulfilled (cf. Mark 14: 49*b*). The synoptists all record Jesus' address to his pursuers in which he reminds them that they do not need to come for him as for a robber with the paraphernalia of the police; he has not hidden away from them; they could have taken him any day as he was in the temple with them teaching. Luke makes him add to this, "But this is your hour and the power of darkness," implying that it was on their own account rather than on his that they chose this time of the day and this manner for his capture.

Matthew and Mark tell that as soon as he was seized the disciples all left him and fled; John (18:8) however says that Jesus asked the officers to let the disciples go their way if it was himself they sought, though like Luke he does not expressly say they fled; but both imply this in the picture they draw of Peter following afar off. Mark adds as a kind of postscript (14: 51,52) the incident about the half-clad young man that followed him. John's account of the arrest is more dramatic than that of the synoptists. Jesus goes forth to meet the company and asks the second time whom they seek, before they can recover their self-possession sufficiently to take him away.

#### THE TRIAL BEFORE THE JEWISH AUTHORITIES

John gives an account of one trial before the Jewish authorities that is not even mentioned by the other writers, while he gives no account of the trial before Caiaphas and the Sanhedrin, only mentioning the fact that after Annas had examined Jesus he sent him bound to Caiaphas the high priest (John 18: 24). According to John, Jesus is led directly to the court of Annas, who was the father-in-law of Caiaphas. Peter and John, having followed, were admitted to the trial, and here Peter denied his Lord for the first time (John 18: 17). The attempt was made by Annas to have Jesus tell of his own teachings. He refused on the ground that his teaching had been all made openly, and demanded that witnesses be brought who had heard him. After suffering insult from an officer he was sent bound to Caiaphas, who was the high priest. Annas had been high priest in the years 6-15 A.D.; by courtesy the title of high priest continued to be used of him, and

he still had influence. According to Luke's account (22:63-65) Jesus is led to the high priest's house and there suffers physical indignities until the assembling of the Sanhedrin in the morning, and the examination and the conviction come after daybreak. Neither Annas nor Caiaphas is named in his narrative. Matthew's and Mark's accounts place the trial before daybreak. It has been suggested by way of harmony that perhaps the entire Sanhedrin remained in session until daybreak, then formally condemning Jesus, as Matthew and Mark seem to imply. Luke's narrative would in that case harmonize with the other synoptists'. In the trial before Caiaphas the effort was made to secure at least two witnesses, according to Mark and Matthew, whose testimony would agree. Failing in this, the effort was made to have the prisoner testify against himself, but this was met only by the silence of Jesus. The question, "Art thou the Christ?" brought a reply at last, and on this reply Jesus was speedily condemned to death.

#### PETER'S DENIAL

The narratives of this vary only a little. Matthew and Mark place the record of the denial after the record of the condemnation by the Sanhedrin and the buffeting Jesus received at the hands of the officers, while Luke places it before this and puts it into the place occupied in Matthew and Mark by the story of the examination, which Luke, as seen above, describes as having taken place in the morning (Luke 26:66-71). All the evangelists had placed the prediction of this denial immediately at the close of the Passover supper. In Luke and John it is not said that Peter affirmed on oath that he did not know Jesus, while this fact is made prominent by Matthew and Mark. According to these latter evangelists, too, the denial occurred in connection with the trial by the Sanhedrin during the night as Peter sat by the fire with the officers, before they proceeded with the trial (Mark 14:54; Matt. 26:58). Luke, who does not mention a gathering of the Sanhedrin until the morning, as noted above, apparently puts the denial at the high priest's house, while those having charge of Jesus waited for the day. John would seem to place one denial at the house of Annas (18:15-18) and two at Caiaphas' court (18:25-27), as the transfer of Jesus from

Annas to Caiaphas comes between these two accounts. However, as Peter seems to be standing at the same fire warming himself in both incidents, some think that John meant that the three denials took place at the house of Annas, on the ground that the representation of Peter and the officers sitting about the fire in the court suits the period of waiting in the house of Annas better than it does the time of the trial by the Sanhedrin.<sup>2</sup> The question then as to whether the denials of Peter took place at the court of Annas or at the trial by the Sanhedrin or part in one place and part in the other must be left undecided. However, the lesson from the denials of Peter is the same in each case, and no essential difference is made by this uncertainty as to time and place.

#### DISCUSSION OF INCIDENTS AND APPLICATION

*Gethsemane.*—The traditional site of Gethsemane—"oil-press"—is about fifty yards beyond St. Stephen's Gate east of the city walls. Some one has suggested that Jesus went here that the trouble which would probably overtake him might not involve his friends who had given him the use of the guest-chamber. Certainly he went to the garden for prayer alone, for though he had spoken often of his approaching death, as in the other hard places in his life, so much the more now, must he seek strength in communion with his Father. Leaving the disciples in two groups, one of eight and the other of three, as it were outer and inner guards, to keep the watch with him, alone he prayed. Who heard the prayers of that aching heart? The disciples slept. Did Jesus tell them what he said, or did they who were near to him know that Jesus still hoped that the cup would pass from him? Had he not talked with them on the way? At least he had said, "My soul is exceeding sorrowful even to the point of death." Only two days before they had heard him pray, "Father save me from this hour, but for this cause came I unto this hour." If he came immediately to the garden from those discourses in the upper room recorded by John, as the record seems to show, it is not unlikely that the burden of his prayer was in their consciousness as well as in his own, and

<sup>2</sup> Gilbert, *Students' Life of Jesus*, p. 285.



that they too made the same petition for him until sleep overtook them.

There is nothing strange in the Gethsemane prayer. In spite of the fact that Jesus had spoken so frequently about his coming death and even of its significance, the question must ever arise, could he be mistaken in his course, and if not, had he strength to go straight through to the end? He needed the Father's presence and assurance now, for the hour must be close at hand. If Jesus was human at all, this hour of anguish was inevitable. He discovered, too, that he was even more alone than he had thought. The sleeping eleven and the traitorous Judas told all too plainly that he was to tread the winepress alone.

No being ever faced such a day, for no being ever loved as Jesus loved the people who were about to crucify him. No one had ever offered to men what he had offered only to be rejected; and no one had ever had such a knowledge and abhorrence of sin or had seen how it pains and dishonors the Father. . . . No one in the church of God sympathized with his conception of the Messiah. The very people to whom God had most clearly revealed his will were about to cast Jesus out as a dangerous fanatic. The truth he had seen he must still cherish alone; not one human being to look with approval upon his course.<sup>3</sup>

*The Arrest.*—The force that came to arrest Jesus was probably a group of the temple police (though John mentions a Roman cohort [18:3] and the synoptists speak of them as a multitude). Considering all the circumstances, a considerable number was needed to insure a successful venture. Excepting the slight casualty occasioned by Peter's tempestuous nature and the consternation occasioned in the ranks of the police when they actually stood before Jesus, the capture was peaceful. Jesus was ready after his prayer and went with his disciples to meet them. That the sting of Judas' conduct was deeply felt is seen in the words—the last words he spoke to his disciples—"Arise, let us be going, the Son of man is betrayed into the hands of sinners." Note the word "betrayed." While he was reconciled to the Father's will, the bitterness that came from the betrayal was present even in this last moment with his own disciples. Yet thoughtful in this hour as he had been when he said, "Sleep on now and take your

<sup>3</sup> Gilbert, *Students' Life of Jesus*, p. 277.

rest," he was mindful of their safety and begged that they might escape. In their fright and exhausted condition they readily accepted this opportunity, two only turning back from afar to see the end.

In the trial before the Jewish authorities, first before Annas as John records, then before the Sanhedrin, presided over by Caiaphas, Jesus remained calm and firm. There is no weakness, fear, or confusion. He stood upon his legal rights as a prisoner in the presence of Annas. There were no witnesses, there was no charge, and there was no occasion or obligation on Jesus' part to answer the questions which were put to him by Annas. His rebuke of the officer who struck him and his reply to Annas which had occasioned the blow were both full of dignity and entirely in place, for both the private examination before Annas and the conduct of the officer toward Jesus were contrary to the express provisions of the rabbinical criminal code.

The trial before the Sanhedrin was conducted with little more regard for legal procedure than was the examination before Annas. In the first place, when no indictment could be brought against him, not even the testimony of two witnesses agreeing, Caiaphas sought to have Jesus testify against himself, which was a violation of their legal code. The Jewish courts required that two witnesses should concur in their testimony before an indictment could be found; also it would be necessary to make out a case that would stand in the Roman court if they were to compass their purpose. The only charge that was specified in the record was that he had spoken slightly of the temple. According to Jewish law he should now have been released. Failing to elicit any response from these baseless charges, Caiaphas propounded the question to him, "Art thou the Christ?" His answer, according to the synoptists, was his first public claim to Messiahship, and he coupled with it the warning and the prediction that the time would come when he would be vindicated and, instead of occupying the place of prisoner, would be the supreme judge. If up to this time there could exist any doubt as to Jesus' real attitude, this reply must settle it forever. He had not been silent in order to save himself. There was no fear in him of the consequences of the trial. His regard for

himself and for the legal form, and his unwillingness to have any part in their quibbles, and the sense of his own superiority had caused him to be silent during these hours.

The Sanhedrin wanted no more testimony than these words of Jesus, which they pronounced to be blasphemy. Caiaphas in the fierceness of his indignation rent his clothes. The vote that was taken condemned Jesus to be worthy of death. In doing this the Sanhedrin had disregarded their own law in three directions. It was forbidden<sup>4</sup> (1) to try criminals in the night, (2) to pass judgment before one night had elapsed after the trial, (3) to try criminal cases on the day before the Sabbath or a feast. The physical indignities which they heaped upon him immediately following were as illegal as the rest, as only a condemned criminal could thus be treated. "He was led as a lamb to the slaughter and as a sheep before his shearers is dumb so he opened not his mouth," and yet his whole attitude was full of challenge, and there was the same calm confidence in himself and his mission that had characterized his whole ministry. Jesus never appears to better advantage than in these trying circumstances. "Love your enemies" had been his word to the world. Alone and with no friend to sympathize he now faced his enemies on every side. There was no bitterness or hatred or ill-wishing toward them revealed in anything he said or did. He declared the truth even more openly than he had done before. There is no stronger contrast in literature or history than that presented by Jesus and his persecutors at this trial. Truly he was fit to be the Savior of the world.

*Peter's denial.*—Psychologically Peter's denial is no puzzle. It was as human as all the rest of the events of the night. Jesus had warned Peter and told him that he had prayed for him that his faith fail not. He had warned him again in the garden to watch and pray to be kept from temptation. Peter had boasted that he would go with his Master to death. He was not so conscious of his need of strength as was his Master, else he would have prayed instead of having slept in the garden. Coupled with this weakness of the spirit there was the weakness of the flesh, for he was exhausted by the exertions of the week. But more than all this was the

<sup>4</sup> Burton and Mathews, *Life of Christ*, p. 262.



intellectual doubt that was poisoning his mind as well as the minds of all the disciples. Their conception of the messiahship had been wrong. The capture of their leader was proof to them that they had been mistaken in their estimate of him. True, the personal affection and loyalty were not thus quickly taken away, and yet this, too, was weakened by the discovery that somehow they had been deceived. What need to involve themselves further in his difficulties? Could Peter have seen with a clear vision the significance and inevitableness of the occurrences of the day it is hard to believe that he would have lost for even a moment his loyalty to his Master, so that Peter's sin was mainly a sin against personal devotion and affection rather than against his loyalty to his own ideals of the kingdom and of righteousness.

Can we explain Judas' fall in the same way? Like the rest of them, Judas' ideal of the Messiah and his kingdom were evidently wrong. With the others he was mistaken here, but Judas' sin was a deliberate and premeditated sin against personal loyalty, coupled with a desire to turn this advantage of a place in the fellowship with the master into personal gain for himself. Peter's was the negative sin that comes from weakness. Judas was no passive factor in the betrayal. Peter's sin was cowardice momentarily retreating. Judas' sin was cowardice become aggressive. He feared the future and sought to make capital out of the most sacred of human goods—the confidence and love of a friend. His insensibility to the higher goods of earth marks him as in no degree a disciple of Jesus. Tradition and history have not painted him too dark.

In so far as we purchase material advantage at the cost of the higher goods of life, ours is the sin of Judas. When we permit intellectual doubt and fear for personal safety to interfere with personal devotion and loyalty to Jesus, ours is the sin of Peter. When prejudice closes the mind and life to all moral appeal in us, ours is the sin of those who tried and condemned Jesus.

## Work and Workers

THE position of Dr. James Hastings in the religious and theological world is unique. He does not hold a divinity chair nor the pastorate of a city parish, though he had some four years' experience of the latter. He is a country minister, and yet perhaps no man in Great Britain has done more for theological learning and for the better equipment and education of the modern pulpit than the United Free Church minister of St. Cyrus. This has been done through his work as the editor of his well-known *Bible Dictionaries*. But Dr. Hastings is something more than an editor. He is the originator and architect of every work that bears his name. His career makes it evident that there is a type of mind that can be called peculiarly "encyclopedist." The question naturally arises, What started this great encyclopedist on his unique career? He saw as far back as 1889 that there was a need among ministers for a thoroughly scholarly magazine and yet one more practical and more useful for the immediate requirements of the pulpit than most existing theological periodicals, and so he started the *Expository Times*. How true was the insight may be judged from the large circulation that the magazine, which is just about to attain its majority, has acquired. The same perception of need gave rise to the *Bible Dictionaries*. The older biblical encyclopedias had fallen behind in the march of theological scholarship. A revision of one of the best was promised, but after the first volume appeared, the announcement was made that the revision would not be continued. Evidently theology required a new dictionary, and this need Dr. Hastings set himself to meet. No one but Dr. Hastings himself knows what difficulties he has had to overcome in carrying out his ideas. As an instance, when he first produced the *Expository Times*, a printer in Aberdeen was the publisher; the second month the printer's health gave way; there was no one to attend to the business, and it seemed as if the *Expository Times* was to be stranded, a complete wreck just outside the harbor. But the editor went to Aberdeen and for a week kept shop and literally salvaged his own ship. In sight to see the need was backed by grit to meet it.

In the making of the dictionaries one of the peculiar faculties that has revealed itself is the power of discovering the right man for the right task. The right man may be at the antipodes, a missionary in Central

Africa, a lecturer in a Japanese university, or an exile in Siberia, but wherever he is, the searchlight from St. Cyrus will find him and reveal him as the man for the work. Of the dictionaries themselves there is no necessity to speak. They are monumental, standard, and authoritative. A man in the full prime of life who can lay claim to have founded and edited a *Dictionary of the Bible* in five volumes, another in one, and a *Dictionary of the Gospels* in two, and has on the stocks an *Encyclopedia* that is to cover the whole sphere of religion and ethics in eight or ten volumes might well indulge a feeling of pride and satisfaction. But Dr. Hastings is the humblest of men and his satisfaction is not in himself but in the help he has given to the Christian ministry and the cause of religion. He has a broad, comprehensive, and open mind. He is always learning, adding sphere to sphere of knowledge. In his manse he has housed his growing library of 15,000 volumes, covering literature, philosophy, folklore, theology, and patristics.

Where does he stand in theology? Perhaps the best answer to this question is, that when the first dictionary was drawing to completion he felt that Christ and his teaching had not received adequate treatment, and straightway the *Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels* was started. If one were to ask Dr. Hastings how he himself would wish to be known, the answer would be as a minister of the church, and through all his years of strenuous labor and increasing literary responsibility he has faithfully and abundantly discharged the duties of a Christian minister. Through his efforts two new churches have been built, one at Kinneff and another, choice and beautiful in its architecture, at St. Cyrus. Here in simple, earnest, and deep speech he preaches the gospel of Jesus Christ.



## Book Reviews

**The Old Syriac Gospels, or Evangelion Da-Mepharreshê.** Being the Text of the Sinai or Syro-Antiochene Palimpsest, Including the Latest Additions and Emendations, with the Variants of the Curetonian Text, Corroborations from Many Other MSS, and a List of Quotations from Ancient Authors. Edited by AGNES SMITH LEWIS, Hon. D.D. (Heidelberg), LL.D. (St. Andrew's), Ph.D. (Halle-Wittenberg). London: Williams & Norgate, 1910. lxxviii+v+334+vii+xi pages. 25s. net.

This magnificent volume fitly crowns a labor of love extending over a period of eighteen years. The announcement of its publication to the readers of this journal is an auspicious occasion on which to recall in some measure the history of that work, carried on with such rare devotion, unswerving constancy of purpose, and, withal, such feminine delicacy of painstaking precision, which led to this happy consummation.

In February, 1892, in the Convent of St. Catharine on Mount Sinai, whither she had gone to explore Syriac manuscripts, Mrs. Lewis was shown among others one such manuscript, evidently of great age and clearly not yet worked over by any modern scholar, for its leaves were still glued together from damp and from disuse. On separating them she found that the volume was a palimpsest throughout, and her trained eye soon recognized that the major portion of the writing erased to make room for martyrologies written thereupon in 778 A.D. (or 697?) was a text of the Canonical Gospels. She quickly realized the importance of the find, and, with the help of her scarcely less famous sister, Dr. Margaret Gibson, photographed the whole book.

These photographs she took with her to England and there showed them to several Syriac scholars. In July, 1892, the late Professor R. L. Bensly and Mr. F. C. Burkitt deciphered some of the clearer ones and recognized this version of the gospels as a near relative of the so-called Curetonian, published in 1858 by W. Cureton from a manuscript written *ca.* 450-70 A.D. and brought from a convent in the Nitrian Desert in Egypt to the British Museum in 1842. Some thirty pages were thus read from the best of the photographs; but it soon became clear that the work could be completed only by working over the manuscript itself.

Accordingly, early in 1893 Professor Bensly, Mr. Burkitt, and J. Rendel Harris (the latter at the special request of Mrs. Lewis), together with Mrs. Lewis and Mrs. Gibson, set out for Sinai. Within forty days (February 8-March 20) these three gentlemen carefully collated what

had been read from the photographs and transcribed the rest. To the great sorrow, not only of the little party, but of the whole world of scholars, Professor Bensly died shortly after the return from Sinai. The result of his labors together with that of the others was published with an introduction by Mrs. Lewis under the title *The Four Gospels in Syriac Transcribed from the Sinai Palimpsest*, (Cambridge, 1894.)

A glance through the pages of that volume will show, quite what was to be expected from a first reading of so difficult a palimpsest, that many a word and line, and here and there even a whole page, had been omitted as illegible. Not content to leave these gaps, Mrs. Lewis again visited the monastery on Sinai in 1895. By careful use of a harmless reagent with much painstaking labor she succeeded in reading most of the "illegible" portions, as her additions to the text as formerly printed showed, when in 1896 she published them in *Some Pages of the Four Gospels, Retranscribed from the Sinaitic Palimpsest, with a Translation of the Whole Text* and marked out her own work in blue ink.

Since then, with remarkable persistence, she has returned three more times to the source, in 1897, in 1902, and in 1906 (is the 1909 on p. 301 a misprint for 1895?), and each time reaped a harvest of gleanings in the way of emendations, additions, and verifications. Those of 1897 were published in the *Expositor*, Fifth Series, VI, 111-19. The nature of her labors is exhibited by two interesting facts, which she is good enough to reveal to us: at home she turned her photographs into lantern slides and so studied them again and again; and in 1906 she asked Dr. C. R. Gregory to trace out exactly what he saw in several doubtful places.

It is not surprising that the text which she is now able to print surpasses in accuracy and fulness by no small margin the text printed by Mr. Burkitt, largely in footnotes, as variants to the Curetonian, in his *Evangelion Da-Mepharreshê* in 1904, as Appendix I of her present book amply demonstrates. In fact, her text comes as near as is possible with so difficult an exemplar to the scholar's ideal of purely objective accuracy for such work. In contrast with Mr. Burkitt's work she prints the text of the Sinai manuscript in full and relegates the Curetonian to such gaps as it is able to fill and to variants printed in a set of footnotes. A second set of footnotes sets forth a series of noteworthy agreements of other manuscripts, mostly Greek and Old-Latin, with this early Syriac version. Aside from that already mentioned, a second appendix gives a list of quotations from the Syriac Fathers agreeing with the Old-Syriac against the Peshitto, to which is appended a special list for the Greek cursive 565; a third appendix exhibits the important omissions

of the Sinai palimpsest from the text furnished by other documents; and the fourth and fifth appendices, in a pocket in the back cover, give changes in Mrs. Lewis' English translation of 1896 made necessary by later emendations and an index to the Arabic Diatessaron respectively.

In the Introduction Mrs. Lewis takes issue with Mr. Burkitt on the question of priority as between Tatian's Diatessaron and these old "separated gospels." She sides with Hjelt and Merx, in upholding the claims of the *Evangelion Da-Mepharreshê*. Mr. Burkitt conjectures that there was some connection between the making of this version and Bishop Palut of Edessa (*ca.* 200 A.D.), the disciple of Serapion of Antioch, and that it was by so much younger than Tatian (*ca.* 172/73). It must be admitted that this conjecture, however alluring, rests upon slender foundations and shows a somewhat dangerous *penchant* on Mr. Burkitt's part to connect famous translations with famous persons. In connecting the Peshitto with Rabbula, Dr. Burkitt is probably right; his assumption there is well authenticated. But did not one brilliant success rather tend to draw on a brilliant guess in a similar groove? Especially hazardous does Mr. Burkitt's position become if Dr. Hjelt be right in his finding that each separate gospel is the work of a different translator. On the other hand, however, neither this nor any other of the evidence as yet adduced establishes beyond a doubt the priority of the old separated gospels to Tatian. A better text, it is well to remember, does not necessarily mean an older exemplar. The Sinai manuscript itself, as dated by almost universal consent in the beginning of the fifth century or somewhat earlier, i.e., *ca.* 400, is younger than some decidedly "worse" texts in Aphraates and Ephraim. Until further evidence be found, it seems best—it is, perhaps, necessary—to class this question with the problems still before us in textual criticism. In any case the difference in dating is not great enough to prevent us from transferring from Peshitto to Old-Syriac the title of queen of the ancient versions.

Another pleasing feature of this book is the very full bibliography, tracing the course of the Sinai palimpsest in modern history from its inception to a point slightly beyond the completion of all but the last finishing touches on this very volume itself. Nor should the valuable and interesting notes on remarkable passages and the fine facsimiles, two each for the Sinai palimpsest and for the Curetonian, be unmentioned. In this work Mrs. Lewis has given added proof of her right to a place in the foremost rank of scholarship.

M. SPRENGLING



## New Literature

The most important books listed in these columns will receive notice in the book-review pages.

### OLD TESTAMENT BOOKS

PATON, L. B. *The Early Religion of Israel.* [Modern Religious Problems, edited by A. W. Vernon.] Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1910. Pp. 115. 50 cents.

The period covered in this little book extends from the earliest times down to the opening of the prophetic period. The history of the pre-prophetic religion of Israel is thus sketched rapidly and clearly. The essential identity of the pre-Mosaic religion with Semitic religion in general is pointed out and credit is given to Moses as the true founder of Israel's characteristic worship. To Moses is assigned the so-called "older Decalogue" and to the Kenites is given the credit of having furnished Israel with its worship of Jehovah. There is room for discussion of these and other points, as is inevitable in any attempt to reconstruct the religious history of a period so lacking in definite historical remains as that with which this book deals; but a careful reading of this presentation will be of great value to the average student of the Old Testament in general and to ministers in particular.

GOLDIN, H. E. *First and Second Years in Hebrew.* New York: T. Druckerman, 1910. Pp. 254.

This is an elementary textbook along the old lines. The progress of the student is made easy, but is correspondingly slow. A serious defect of the book as a guide for adults is the fact that the work of learning Hebrew is here made the task of the memory exclusively. No opportunity is given to the reasoning faculties to aid in the process. Words and forms are placed before the student to be learned, but no explanation of any kind is furnished as to the way in which such forms arise or the laws in accordance with which similar forms may be made. The work is better adapted to Jewish students than to any others.

*The New Testament and The Psalms. In the Revised Version. Standard Edition.* New York: Thomas Nelson & Sons.

A new and attractive style of page commends this latest output of these publishers. The type is large and clear and runs across the entire page instead of being arranged in two columns as heretofore, making the reading much easier. This edition is published in various forms, ranging in price from 55 cents to \$5.00 each. The size is convenient for the pocket. Every attempt to put this best of all translations into the hands of more people deserves encouragement.

### ARTICLES

KÖNIG, ED. "The Significance of the Patriarchs in the History of Religion," *The Expositor*, September, 1910, pp. 193-207.

The author would have us find in Abraham the real founder of Israel's religion, in that his conception of God was not dependent upon images, that he repudiated human sacrifice, that he was conscious of the moral character of Jehovah, that he had an outlook of blessing for the world, and that he emphasized faith and hope.

MARGOLIS, MAX L. "Complete Induction for the Identification of the Vocabulary in the Greek Versions of the Old Testament with Its Semitic Equivalents: Its Necessity and the Means of Obtaining It," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, September, 1910, pp. 301-12.

A valuable article pointing out the necessity of gathering together and considering carefully all the usages of any given word or phrase in the LXX in order to be

successful in the attempt to discover its Hebrew original. The author is rendering invaluable service by his studies in this field.

## RELATED SUBJECTS

### BOOKS

AMES, E. S. *The Psychology of Religious Experience*. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1910. Pp. viii+429. \$2.50.

An important book upon a subject of increasing interest to all students of religion. A review will appear later in these pages.

FRANK, HENRY. *Modern Light on Immortality. Being an Original Excursion into Historical Research and Scientific Discovery Pointing to a New Solution of the Problem*. Boston: Sherman, French & Co., 1909. Pp. 467. \$1.85.

A rapid sketch of the history of human thought concerning immortality, followed by a consideration of the qualities of matter as now interpreted, resulting in the conclusion that an impalpable, invisible duplicate of the outer, visible body constitutes the imperishable part of human personality.

HALL, T. C. *History of Ethics within Organized Christianity*. New York: Scribner, 1910. Pp. xi+605. \$3.00.

As the title implies, this book confines itself to a statement and interpretation of the various systems of ethics that have arisen successively within the pale of the Christian church. The task is a great and important one, and the author is to be congratulated upon the degree of success he has achieved. All students of ethics will need this book.

*The Unity of Religions. A Popular Discussion of Ancient and Modern Beliefs.*

Edited by J. HERMANN RANDALL AND J. GARDNER SMITH. New York: T. Y. Crowell & Co., 1910. Pp. viii+362. \$2.00.

A series of lectures by scholars of eminence given before a men's Bible class of five hundred members is here presented. The series furnishes a bird's-eye view of the great religions of the world and should prove interesting to many ministers and laymen.

LYMAN, E. W. *Theology and Human Problems. A Comparative Study of Absolute Idealism and Pragmatism as Interpreters of Religion*. New York: Scribner, 1910. Pp. 232. \$1.00.

A series of lectures at Yale on the Nathaniel William Taylor foundation. An interesting critique of two great opposing philosophies, neither of which is wholly satisfactory to the author.







Schmitz

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"LORD, IS IT I?"

# THE BIBLICAL WORLD

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## Editorial

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### FULFILLING THE LAW OF CHRIST THE JOY OF THE VICARIOUS SUFFERER

O fellow-bearers of the load we did not choose, the load we fain would have some other carry if we could, remember this—the burden-bearers help the world along! I know not how it is. I know not all the law. I am only sure of this: the fight that each man fights behind his chamber door for courage and for patience and for faith, he fights not for himself alone, he fights for all mankind; he fights as one who is a helper of his kind, as a blood brother of that One who, in little Galilee, obscure, almost alone, was wounded for our transgressions and bruised for our iniquities, and who upon the cross became the burden-bearer of the human race.

These are the words of a modern Christian, written when, after ten years of notable service in the ministry and four years of struggle with disease, he was facing inevitable death. They are the product, not of the atmosphere of the school, but of the deep experience of a soul grappling with dreadful and dreaded realities. Yet they are, perhaps because of this, but an echo of the teaching of Jesus in the gospels. They repeat what he learned, as he took upon himself the burdens of men and bore them into the face of death. For when Jesus declared that, except a grain of wheat fall into the ground and die, it abideth alone, but if it die, it shall bear much fruit, he stated this not as a special burden laid on him but as the law for all mankind. And when Peter repudiated Jesus' declaration that he must die, the Lord's answer was not that this was his special task, but that it was for all who would be his disciples to take up the cross and follow him. "Bear ye one another's burdens and so fulfil the law of Christ," writes the

Apostle Paul. The law of vicarious suffering and redemption through that suffering is written large, as universal law, not in the Old and New Testaments only but in all human history and experience.

Is it not strange that the Christian world has been so slow to grasp this great truth, so clearly taught by the prophet of the Exile and by the Christ, and, as in the instance we have cited, again and again learned in the school of deep experience? What joy would come into many lives if their sufferings and disappointments could be dignified and glorified by the thought that through these things one becomes "a helper of his kind, a blood brother of that One who, in little Galilee, obscure, almost alone, was wounded for our transgressions, and bruised for our iniquities." What inspiration would come into Christian effort to bring blessing to the world, if we could firmly grasp and joyously accept the fact that what Christ did for the world it is for us also in our measure to do. Can there be to struggling souls any more heartening Christmas message than this, that they who suffer may, if they will, fill up that which is lacking of the sufferings of the Christ, and so suffering, share in his redemptive work? For while there are tasks still unfulfilled, wrongs still to be righted, and good still to be achieved, the measure of those sufferings will still remain unfulfilled.

#### THE LAW OF LIFE THROUGH DEATH APPLIES TO THOUGHTS ALSO

But there is another aspect of this matter that challenges thought. Is it perhaps true that the transformation of the simple teaching of Jesus into the manifold doctrines of atonement, which have in successive ages satisfied the thought of the church and seemingly contributed to its development, itself constitutes an illustration of the principle that the grain of wheat must be cast into the ground if it would bring forth much fruit? The thought of Jesus was clear: what he himself did in becoming a burden-bearer for his fellow-men was but the type of that which belongs to all good men to do; they too must be ready to lay down their lives a ransom for others. But as that thought went out into the world it encountered Jewish rabbinism, and Greek philos-



ophy, and Roman legalism, and in the process of entering into the thought of the nations took upon itself their burden. It must have been so. The principle of life through death applies to thoughts as well as to lives. The saving truth must mingle with the life that it will save, and suffer in the mingling. And so the simple but profound thought of Jesus became Hebraized, Hellenized, Romanized. To have remained pure, it must perhaps have remained also unfruitful. The leaven must mingle with the meal and transform it, but the resultant loaf will not be wholly unaffected by the character of the meal. It is the glory of Christianity that it can enter into the life of every nation. Christianity in the Greek, the Latin, the German will be Christianity, but in each it will have its own peculiarities, otherwise it would be an exotic in the midst of the national life, and by so much ineffective.

#### THE NECESSITY OF FREQUENT RETURN TO FIRST PRINCIPLES

But because these things are so, it is necessary that ever and again we re-examine our resultant Christianity—analyze it into its elements, discriminate the simple message of Jesus from the accretions that have attached themselves to it as it has come down through the centuries and mingled with the life of the nations. Not, indeed, that we shall reject from our religion everything that is not from the first century, or assume that all that Christianity has gathered to itself in nineteen centuries is evil; God is still revealing himself in the history of events and in the hearts of men, and new truth is as true as the old. But the accretions that have served their day and become only hindering encumbrances must be stripped away; and there is great value in the effort, with undimmed eye and unprejudiced vision, to see once more the majestic figure of the great founder of our religion and to hear his message in its original simplicity.

It is especially to this end that Christian scholarship has been directing its efforts of late. Availing itself of the development of a keener historic sense and of the openness of mind that is characteristic of our day, it has gained, we believe, a clearer understanding than any previous age has possessed of the great thoughts of Jesus which have been the seed of the church.

## THE COST OF SIMPLIFYING CHRISTIANITY

It is fortunate that this is the case; for there is great need at this present hour of the rejuvenation of the Christian message. The avenues of communication between the nations of the world are open as never before in its history. We are already in the midst of a new era in the progress of Christianity. Not only by conscious effort, but by forces which the church did not create and cannot control, our modern Christianity is coming as never before into a closeness of contact with the life of non-Christian peoples that involves results of vast moment. For such a time we need a message free from all needless encumbrances. But it is not to be forgotten that this closer contact of our faith with the nations of the world and their religious life will not be without its price of suffering; the service that we render to them will be at the cost to us not only of money and of toil, but of pain. Our western Christianity, endeared to us and modified by many a struggle and conflict, must, as it comes into contact with new civilizations, again be cast as seed into the ground to die and by dying bring forth fruit. It must mingle with the life of the people and in the process of mingling suffer changes. And it will bring pain to the Christian missionary as he sees the cherished ritual of his church, or the form of its ecclesiastical organization, or the doctrinal expressions of its faith discarded or modified by those who receive his message. This is the sacrifice that Christianity ever asks of those who become its bearers, a part of the price we must pay for the joy of walking in the footsteps of Jesus.

## THE NEED OF VOLUNTARY SIMPLIFICATION

But this in turn raises the question, whether we as occidental Christians shall impose upon the new East the whole burden of discrimination and elimination, or shall voluntarily, though at pain to ourselves, leave behind all that is not central and vital to our Christian message. As the great Far East asks today, with new interest and respect, What is Christianity? shall that which we offer them in reply be our western theology and ecclesiasticism, including elements learned from the Jewish rabbi, the Greek

philosopher, the Roman lawyer, the German scholar, and the American evangelist, and diversified into many types bearing many sectarian and sectional names? Or shall we imitate the example which the apostle Paul set us when he cut away from the gospel that he preached to the gentiles all those elements, ancient and sacred though they were, which could not serve their religious needs? And shall we seek to find that heart and center of our Christianity which, in whatever combination with local and temporary thought, has among all peoples had in it the power to enlighten and redeem men and to create for itself in every new situation its own forms of expression? Shall we seek to force upon the East an occidentalized Christianity, or, as nearly as we may, give them the religion of Jesus in its utmost simplicity?

What will be the outcome of those unparalleled opportunities of peaceful conquest that now confront Christianity will depend in no small measure on the answer that is given to this question. Except the grain of wheat fall into the ground and die, it abideth alone; but if it die, it shall bring forth much fruit.



## BIBLICAL CRITICISM AND THE CHRISTMAS MESSAGE

GERALD BIRNEY SMITH  
The University of Chicago

Recently in Germany the radical critics in the realm of New Testament scholarship have felt themselves compelled to become defenders of the faith. The methods of historical criticism which they had been using with the avowed purpose of penetrating back of myth, legend, and theological misinterpretation so as to discover the character of the "historical Jesus" were apparently taken out of their hands by a few bold spirits who asserted that the logical outcome of the critical method was to eliminate Jesus altogether from the story of the growth of our religion. There may, indeed, it was asserted, have been a man bearing the name of Jesus. But even if this be true, he is simply the accidental figure around which clustered myths and legends and cult-forms taken from oriental religions and from the Jewish and Hellenistic speculations of the time. So ran the argument of the new radicals. The Christian scholars who up to this time had posed as pioneers were now made to seem too timid, too much bound by ecclesiastical interests to dare to draw the legitimate conclusions from their own premises and methods. The battle has thus been raging fiercely over what seems to an American mind an absurd question, viz., "Did any such man as the Jesus of the gospels ever live at all?"

In this controversy, the radical scholars in the German universities have been compelled to take what is, comparatively speaking, a somewhat conservative position. They have insisted that critical scholarship is far from any such conclusions as those attributed to it. Professor Weinel has contributed to a leading theological journal two articles which ask the question whether criticism has made impossible the preaching of the gospel.<sup>1</sup> In these articles he shows clearly the unscientific nature of a criticism

<sup>1</sup> "Ist unsere Verkündigung von Jesus unhaltbar geworden?" *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche* (1910), Hefte 1 and 2, January and March.

which comes to such utterly negative results concerning the character of Jesus; and he expresses the firm conviction that the critical method, when properly used, will establish beyond question such facts concerning Jesus that faith may confidently build on them. The warmth with which Weinel defends the possibility of a vigorous faith in Jesus in conjunction with critical scholarship is evidence that he, at least, possesses such faith, and earnestly desires that criticism shall make its positive contribution to religious belief.

In England a controversy of a somewhat different nature has been actively prosecuted under the lead of the *Hibbert Journal*. The issue which has been here thrust before us is the question whether, in view of the results of critical scholarship, we have the right to call Jesus divine in any real sense. *Jesus or Christ?* is the title of a volume of essays by various authors dealing with this problem. Other evidences of the intense interest in the question are the unusually strong volumes on the subject of Christology which have appeared from Scottish and English scholars in the past two years.<sup>2</sup> The question thus brought before the English-speaking world is sufficiently important, if less startling than that which has engaged the attention of the Germans.

These two controversies are symptomatic of a situation which causes perplexity and hesitation to every pastor who has kept himself informed of the course of scholarship and who desires to preach what is true rather than what is emotionally acceptable to his hearers. Just what can one sincerely say about Jesus in the Christmas sermon? The anthems on that day will ring with the triumphant announcement of the miraculous birth. The Scripture readings will set forth the joy of angels and the adoration of the Magi in the presence of the heaven-sent babe. But the critics have made us feel uncertain as to the historicity of the infancy narratives. Many intelligent people in our churches know that these wonderfully beautiful stories about the marvelous child are by many scholars regarded as legends which grew up as a result of later theological views concerning Jesus. They will perhaps be

<sup>2</sup> Notably, Denney, *Jesus and the Gospel* (1908); Forsyth, *The Person and Place of Christ* (1909); and Sanday, *Christologies, Ancient and Modern* (1910).

watching for evidences of insincerity on the part of the preacher; while anxious conservative souls will also be watching and hoping to be spared the paralyzing consequences of negative criticism on this day when faith wishes to rejoice in the coming of Immanuel. What, then, shall the preacher do?

Professor Sanday, in his discussion, has suggested two types of Christology which may be constructed with a full recognition of the results of critical scholarship. He calls them the "full" and the "reduced" types respectively.<sup>3</sup> Both types would probably in large measure agree as to the facts established by historical criticism. Both would hold that we have no absolutely conclusive evidence in favor of many of the details which orthodox theology has affirmed. But they differ in their treatment of the material which is thus left doubtful by criticism. The difference is not unlike that between "loose constructionists" and "strict constructionists" in the matter of interpreting the constitution of the United States. In cases of doubt shall the government assume the right to act? Or shall it restrict itself to those rights which are explicitly stated in the constitution? The "full" Christology, according to Dr. Sanday, employs critical conclusions merely to furnish the foundation upon which religious thinking may build the amplest possible structure in which faith may find its home. The "reduced" Christology, on the other hand, insists that we must content ourselves with the sure foundations. The desire to be absolutely honest with the facts means in this latter case a more or less clearly recognized agnosticism.

Dr. Sanday confesses himself a hearty advocate of the "full" type of Christology. The way in which he fills the outline is interesting enough to deserve more attention than can be given to it here. He feels that in the recent psychological investigations of the powers of man we have solid grounds for holding that through the subliminal consciousness every man may reach into a region of existence which is inaccessible to his more prosaic and specialized ordinary consciousness. Readers of the late Professor James's *Varieties of Religious Experience* will recall a similar suggestion that in the subconscious regions of our experience we have direct

<sup>3</sup> See *Christologies, Ancient and Modern*, Lectures iv and v.



contact with the divine. Professor Sanday holds that in Jesus this somewhat mysterious realm of psychic life was so much more highly developed than in the case of other men that in him we have a unique divine presence manifesting itself in and through all his life. The theory is not altogether unlike Dorner's doctrine of the progressive incarnation of God in Jesus; but it appeals to scientific psychology rather than to metaphysics.

Suggestive as is this procedure, it simply transfers the issue from the realm of historical criticism into that of psychological criticism. There is by no means a unanimity of opinion among psychologists as to the validity of this appeal to the subconscious. It therefore does not establish a Christology which is beyond the reach of criticism. It indicates, however, Dr. Sanday's feeling that New Testament criticism cannot and does not say the last word in the matter. A Christology implies some sort of philosophizing concerning the significance of Jesus; and philosophy must submit to critical tests of its own. Dr. Sanday's book, like those of Denney and Forsyth, frankly recognizes that the time has come when religious beliefs, like beliefs in the realm of medicine, politics, or philosophy, must be expounded in a world which is in the habit of applying critical tests. There is no possibility of isolating our theology from the rest of our life. Whatever we affirm to be true in religion must be shown to be true by exactly the same means that we should employ to convince men of the truth in other realms. In the Christology which Dr. Sanday proposes, he does not attempt to establish a mystery by a simple appeal to the authority of biblical texts. He rightly feels that if anything like the biblical doctrine of the divine nature of Christ is to be established it must be made to appear possible and reasonable to thinking men. It must be brought so definitely into relation with our experience that we may be able to see how such a Christ opens to us the way to God. It is comparatively easy for one who follows Dr. Sanday's arguments to see the practical consequences of such a relation of Jesus to God as is suggested by his doctrine. The presence of God in human life is made perfectly evident and Dr. Sanday could preach a Christmas sermon with power and effectiveness although he is one of the most noted biblical critics in the world.

What makes it possible for him to feel that he has a positive Christmas message? It is interesting to notice that the content of his Christology is put into language which would have been unintelligible to the writers of the New Testament. To be sure mysticism to a certain extent understands mysticism the world over. But the Christology of the New Testament does not appeal to any "subliminal consciousness" in order to explain or sustain the divinity of Jesus. It employs quite other terms—terms as strange to us as would be the phrases of Professor James to them. In *content* this proposed Christology for the twentieth century is very different from that of the first century. Yet it is impossible to escape the conviction that *in spirit* Dr. Sanday is in profound sympathy with the beliefs which expressed themselves in the infancy narratives. The vitality of his message consists in the fact that he is striving to give expression to a faith of his own so real and so interwoven with experience that he cannot rest until he has put it into a form suited to carry a genuine appeal to men of today.

The process by which he reaches this end is somewhat as follows. By critical study, and by his own religious reflection on the New Testament records, he is convinced that Jesus brought to mankind the supreme revelation of God. He perceives the splendid power which has come to the church through holding and proclaiming the doctrine of the divinity of Christ. He longs to have a share in this great tradition. And he proceeds to suggest the way in which it seems to him probable that Jesus possessed the capacity which he had and which he still has to bring men to a realization of the saving power of God. It is evident that the messianic concepts of the early Christians do not seem to him to furnish an interpretation which would now be helpful. We are not doing our thinking today in terms of messianism. Neither does he attempt to persuade us to accept that doctrine of consubstantiality of nature which found its way into the authorized creeds of the church. We are not doing our thinking in terms of Greek metaphysics. Dr. Sanday frankly employs a line of thought which is likely to appeal to those who are conversant with the religious life and philosophy of our day. Nevertheless this modern apparatus is so used that the reader feels an essential historical

continuity between the proposed Christology of the modern scholar and the doctrines concerning Christ which have commanded the loyalty of Christians in the past.

The outcome of biblical criticism is often represented in such a way that it is inevitably made to appear more or less "destructive" in character. The mood of investigation is very different from the mood of enthusiastic affirmation. The asking of questions concerning the teachings of the New Testament seems to the enthusiast a sign of a lukewarm faith or of a latent skepticism. Men who are impressed by this necessary—but be it said preliminary—aspect of criticism are accustomed to measure the affirmations of critical scholarship by the standard of New Testament affirmation, and to detect the more hesitating tone in the judicial statements of investigators, even when these are most conservative in their conclusions. If criticism calls in question any aspects of the biblical faith, its outcome is immediately judged to be "negative." If the critic is at all radical in his conclusions, he is called "destructive"; and the sweeping conclusion is reached that critical methods are inherently dangerous to vital faith.

But the raising of doubts is only one element in the critical process. It is necessary to remember the positive as well as the negative side of criticism. No scholar takes any permanent delight in putting question marks in the place of positive assertions. Problems are raised only to arrive at more tenable convictions. The fact that the untrained layman cannot follow the intricacies of the process by which these firmer convictions are reached should not be an argument against the critical ideal. In no realm can the specialist expect everybody to understand all that he does. If, however, positive results can be shown to have come from the specialized researches of the expert, men welcome a continuation of his experiments. In so far as there is popular opposition to the employment of critical methods in the realm of biblical study, it must be because men are not convinced of the positive achievements of this branch of science.

This failure to secure a popular welcome is recognized by Professor Weinel when he confesses that the *religionsgeschichtliche Volksbücher*, which were planned with the intention of helping



men better to understand the nature of the Bible, have actually been a source of perplexity to many minds. The source of this perplexity is not far to seek. For centuries the world has been accustomed to measure the validity of any conclusion in theology by asking whether it conforms to the doctrine contained in the Bible. To a large extent this conformity has been quantitative in character. Any system of belief which omits biblical details has been regarded as in so far defective; and it has been assumed that the traditional interpretation of biblical doctrine is a faithful reproduction of the contents of the Bible. If critical study reveals the fact that a current interpretation is not justified by a better knowledge of the facts, the first impulse of the puzzled soul is to object to this subtraction from the content of his faith. Just what can we believe when the critics are questioning so many things?

Now, the positive achievement of biblical criticism is the emancipation of men from this quantitative habit of measuring religious affirmations. No mere catalogue of facts or of arguments could ever produce a religion. The vitality of faith is not to be estimated by asking concerning the quantity of its affirmations. As a matter of fact, as Harnack has pointed out, the most significant enlargements of religious life have come from a reduction in the quantitative aspect of religion. When Jesus disregarded the minutiae of Pharisaic observance, and when Luther swept away Catholic scholasticism, real religion found its scope magnified by this reduction in quantity. In like manner it is conceivable that a "reduced" Christology might, if the omissions were of the right sort, be all the stronger for the reduction. It might gain intensively because of extensive loss.

When, therefore, it is discovered that criticism has compelled doubt or even negation in respect to some of the details of historical Christology, it is necessary to ask the further question whether this curtailment may not actually be a gain. Does not it open the way for such a straightforward modern exposition as that which Dr. Sanday suggests? Does it not set personal faith free to construct on the basis of the data yielded by criticism a form of theology which shall more nearly represent the vital

interests of faith than would be possible if one felt externally compelled to try to affirm all the elements of New Testament doctrine?

But criticism yields more than a permissive freedom in the construction of theology. It furnishes a positive appreciation of those forms of faith which it recognizes to have embodied transitory elements. While seeing clearly that the apocalyptic expectations of the primitive disciples cannot be held by modern theologians, the historical student who proceeds with genuine insight is likely to come to the conclusion that if he had lived in Palestine during the early part of the first century, he too would have expressed his faith in terms of that apocalyptic enthusiasm. He then values the messianism of the New Testament primarily because of its religious vitality, and is able to expound with positive sympathy the aspirations and the achievements of this triumphant faith. What better continuity with the apostolic age could be found than this ability which criticism has furnished to appreciate positively and accurately the faith of the apostles, different though that faith is in form from the beliefs of later ages?

Moreover, criticism has revealed to us the presence of differing forms of belief in the New Testament itself. From men with diverse habits of thought came differing estimates of Jesus; and the result is a wonderful catholicity and richness of theology. Each New Testament writer has integrated the Christ of his faith into the world-view which he held. If he were a simple Jewish Christian, he could be content with the anthropomorphic apocalypticism of the early chapters of Acts. If he had felt the power of the more abstract and scientific world-view of Greek thought, he would be compelled to assign to Christ a wider cosmic significance. The important fact which lies behind this variety is the power of the name of Christ to inspire the various theologies of the New Testament. This very adaptability of Christian faith is an earnest of its sure victory over all more rigid types of religion. It is a legitimate step from this recognition of the freedom and naturalness of New Testament faith to the exercise of the same freedom and naturalness in the formulation of a modern Christology. When it is seen that the writings to which we go for our knowledge of Jesus

were not produced by processes of technical criticism, it ought to take from us the fear lest such criticism may subtract from the glory of the great confessions of faith formulated in the early church. We should rather rejoice that so plain a warrant is given to all followers of Jesus to formulate their faith in him in that vital and direct way which is characteristic of the New Testament, knowing that it is as true now as in the days of Paul that the letter killeth, while the spirit maketh alive.

Paradoxical as it sounds, criticism makes it certain that no man builds up his religious convictions by a critical process of discovering bare "facts" from which he may draw conclusions. We inevitably share the social ideals of our time, and from these construct our world of religious thought. It is doubtful whether, even if the incontrovertible "facts" concerning Jesus were to be critically established, they would be as valuable for the nourishment of the religious life as are the confessions of faith which we have before us in the writings of the New Testament. The Jesus in whom the disciples believed was the marvelous figure with characteristics corresponding to the socialized ideas of messianic activity which conditioned the thinking of the early Christians. They did not proceed to ask critically whether the application of messianic categories to Jesus was justified. They simply interpreted their abounding faith in him in terms which entered into their daily conversation and thought. The power of their Christology consists in the fact that they interpreted their faith directly in terms of ideas already potent in social life. When Dr. Sanday abandons any scholastic attempt to reproduce literally the details of New Testament doctrine, and essays to express his faith in terms of ideas which are gaining currency today, he is really true to the spirit of New Testament Christology, however divergent his theories may be in form from those of the apostles. It is for this reason that he has a positive message. Other theologians of today will doubtless prefer to use other means of expressing their faith. We may expect to find in our age divergence of doctrine as truly as it was found in the first century. But there may be the same spirit of loyalty and love to Jesus underlying all; and whenever a Christian's devotion and trust is sincerely expressed in terms which



have a real meaning to men of today, we shall have a vital proclamation of the gospel.

The purpose of the Christmas sermon is so to set forth the significance of Jesus as to bring into the world in which the preacher and his hearers live a sense of joy and triumph so genuine and vital that in voicing it men shall feel a rightful share in the splendid optimism of the infancy narratives. It is the *spirit* of the New Testament which we wish to preserve. If we find ourselves compelled to engage in the attempt to persuade ourselves to "accept" this or that detail of the primitive picture of Christ, we may be very certain that we are engaged in an academic task. We have lost contact with the power of Jesus, and have begun to try to live by the outcome of apologetic reasonings. It ought to be the service of criticism to free us from some of the burdens which attach to an uncritical view of the New Testament. When we recognize that the writings which had enough vitality to survive from the first century are not mere prosaic records of fact, but are primarily expressions of living Christian conviction; when we see that the events which were narrated and the arguments which were wrought out have been preserved just because they were tributary to a vital faith; when we note the presence within the New Testament of differing Christologies, ought we not to be emancipated from bondage to the literalness of mere technical scrutiny and inspired by the greatness of religious trust and aspiration which criticism has helped us to appreciate?

If this be true, the preacher who has studied the New Testament by critical methods will attempt to do in his preaching just what the preachers of the first century did. He will attempt to portray Jesus in such vital relations to the world in which his hearers live, that they will rejoice at the salvation which comes through Christ. Dr. Sanday himself illustrates this ideal in his book. As has been intimated, his Christology is so unlike that of the New Testament in form that it preserves few external coincidences. One may, it is true, be quite dubious about the legitimacy of his appeal to the occult realms of mental experience. But one cannot escape the sense of a deep and vital faith which leads the Oxford professor to long to make persuasive a belief in Christ which actually

enriches and strengthens his own life. Different as is his Christology from that of the New Testament, he has stated it without employing "destructive" criticism.

To convict Peter and Paul and the synoptists of superstition and of false world-views would be an achievement of meager value. This is not the end and aim of criticism. Criticism has done its work only when it enables us to see how and why these and other noble men came to their convictions, and when it evokes from us the warm appreciation of the essentially positive contribution made by men who in their theology could introduce Jesus with saving power into the world in which they lived. A genuinely critical appreciation of the early Christologies will call forth a desire to be of some similar service to the world in which we live. The main problem then will not be whether we can literally reproduce the New Testament doctrine as our own. The primary question is whether we have any such personal love for Jesus and trust in him that we can give to him a supreme place in our world where he shall control the issues of life. If we can, and if we yearn to bring into the experience of other men a transforming power which we ourselves have received from our knowledge of Jesus, we shall come to the Christmas season with a song of joy in the heart which will easily find expression alongside the poetry of the infancy narratives and the triumphant music of the anthems. Criticism rightly used will free us from the artificial task of attempting to carry over a first-century world-view into the twentieth century. It will set us free to preach a "full" Christology, not because of the number of biblical assertions which we make, but because of a biblical desire to show the marvelous consequences of the coming of Jesus into the world of our own thought and experience. Not to destroy but to fulfil is the purpose which Christ begets in men, even when they employ critical methods of study.

## THE RELIGIOUS VALUE OF THE RESURRECTION OF JESUS IN THE EARLY CHURCH

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The history of the doctrine of the resurrection of Jesus in the early church falls into three periods: (1) the primitive church; (2) the Pauline thought; (3) the second-century church.

1. *The primitive church* was entirely Jewish in its presuppositions. In order to represent its religious life we must dismiss Christianity, as it is now understood, from our mind, and imagine ourselves in the midst of Judaism, recalling also certain diverse elements within it; for Judaism was not a unity. At one extreme was a worldly-wise, conservative Sadduceeism; at the other, a hot-headed, impatient, revolutionary zealotism. The church represented neither of these. There were zealots within the church, but the church was not zealotism. Between the two extremes stood a legalistic, scribal Phariseeism, with its new doctrines, such as the resurrection. Like most advanced movements, it was sensitively intolerant of a movement still more advanced. The church took over the messianic theology of Phariseeism, including the new doctrine of the resurrection, but the church was not Phariseeism. There was another tendency of thought, which never differentiated itself from Phariseeism sufficiently to secure a name. It was the tendency to place the emphasis of religious life upon the national messianic hope, rather than upon the personal keeping of the law. Its particular expression is found in the Apocalypses. The Apocalypses, however, are the record of that movement and not its cause. It was with this messianic Judaism that the Christian church was most closely allied; out of it in a sense it sprang. It was a messianic Judaistic sect, having as its peculiar feature that it held Jesus to be the Messiah. About this thought of the Messiah the religious life of the church centered.

The messianic hope was the great inspiration of Judaism. In the world at large the Jew was despised. His favorite religious



term for himself was "the poor." He stood by the highway of the world and watched the proud gentile ride by. He lived in gentile cities, handled gentile money, and over his own sacred city stood a gentile standard. Then he shut his eyes and dreamed. God would not always let it be so. His nation could never win freedom, much less supremacy, by its own power. He was not deluded by revolutionary hopes, as was the zealot. He must wait God's action; and God's action would never come till Israel was holy. What could he do? He could not fight, but he might live a holy life, he could pray for his nation, and wait. There are few situations in the world which tend more to develop an intense and abiding emotion than the effort to hold hope in the midst of conditions that seem permanently hopeless. The best way for the modern man to come into touch with that type of emotional experience is to place himself in touch with the despair and the hope, the heat and the passion, of modern socialism. Add to this economic situation the sacred intensity of religious emotion, and one can appreciate in some degree the feeling of messianic Judaism.

Then there came into this field of emotional religious nationalism the claim that the Messiah had already come. A few enthusiasts were following him, but as yet he was only doing preliminary work. Is it any wonder that the mass of Jewish messianism withheld its support until further proof? He had not yet done a single messianic deed. It seemed to them the part of wisdom to wait before accepting him; and was not this wisdom justified by the fact that, instead of becoming the Messiah, he was executed? Besides, with all their longing for the messianic triumph, two things were plain: first, that the time of the gentiles was not yet full; and second, that Israel was not yet prepared for the Messiah.

But now a new element entered into the situation. The followers of Jesus actually said that though he had been killed he was not dead after all. They said that he had come out of the grave; that some of them had seen him alive. To be sure, he did not go on teaching. That was because God had taken him back to heaven. "Now," his followers argued, "why did God raise him from the dead unless he is the Messiah?" And, so far as the

records go, we do not know that their opponents ever tried to answer the question, except by denying that Jesus did rise from the dead. If one granted that he was raised from the dead, then previous objections would be answered. It is true that the times of the gentiles are not yet fulfilled. It is true that Israel is not yet ready for the Messiah. That is proved by the fact that Israel killed Jesus. When Israel is ready, then God will send him again. Let Israel hasten to prepare herself to receive her king.

Messianic Judaism, if it could only grant the resurrection of Jesus from the dead, might then accept him as the Messiah. The followers of Jesus believed that his resurrection proved his messiahship. This then was the meaning of the resurrection of Jesus in the primitive church. It was simply, so far as we can see, a proof of the messiahship of Jesus.

2. *The Pauline thought.*—In the Pauline thought a new emphasis entered. Paul had been a legalistic Pharisee. He also had believed in messianism; but we may suppose from his later writings that the emphasis of his religious life had been less upon the national hope than upon the personal relation of man to God. About this problem of personal relation his richest and most original writing centered.

Yet Paul entered Christianity by the door of messianism. Jesus, whom he had doubtless regarded as indubitably dead, had appeared to him. That meant that he was alive. We of the twentieth century explain visions. Men of the first century accepted them. Paul never for a moment doubted that the living Jesus had appeared to him. It may be well to remind ourselves that, in the history of religion, visions play a very important part. Not to speak of Hebrew prophets, both Buddhism and Mohammedanism began in the visions of their founders. These religions, when new, rested for their verity, as did Paul's, upon the belief of these founders in the reality of their visions. Paul's immediate conclusion was that, if Jesus were living, he must be the Messiah.

He availed himself of his new belief in the deep problem which he seems to have been so long pondering: How may man come into harmony with God? The answer of Pharisaic ritualism had not

satisfied him, but his belief in Jesus brought him to a new sense of harmony with God.

It is not easy to follow the working of Paul's mind at this point. We know the results; we can only surmise the processes. The results may be summarized as follows: (1) The true way to harmony with God, in the Hebrew religion itself, was simply to accept his message—the way of faith. (2) If Jesus is the Messiah—and his resurrection proves it—then the way to God lies in the acceptance of Jesus' messiahship. (3) There cannot be two ways to God. If it is through the acceptance of Jesus' messiahship, it cannot also be through keeping laws. (4) For the future, the messiahship means a messianic kingdom on earth. The resurrection of Christ is the pledge of that kingdom. (5) It is also the pledge of the resurrection of dead believers to share in the Messiah's kingdom. (6) It also shed light—and this is the characteristically Pauline development—on the problem of the personal relation of man to God. Man obtains harmony with God by believing God's message. What is the result? In what does harmony with God consist? Paul found the answer in that experience which we call the mystic union with God. He has various terms for it. He calls it the new man; the life of the Spirit; being in Christ; and says in its exposition, "I live, yet no longer I but Christ."

In these days we speak of God as immanent in the natural world. Paul means that God is immanent in the heart of man. Such an idea must always be expressed by figures. One of the figures he uses is the resurrection of Christ. This life in harmony with God is a new life. It is illustrated by Christ; he died, was buried, rose again to a new life. Baptism—immersion and rising again from the water—is a symbol of the Christian's new life. So "as Christ was raised from the dead, we also" must "walk in newness of life"; and our new life is in reality one with the life of the risen and glorified Messiah.

We have then three Pauline uses of the resurrection of Jesus: (1) to prove that Jesus is the Messiah, as with all-primitive Christians; (2) to prove that believers will be raised from the dead in the future, for if death could not hold him, it cannot hold those



spiritually united with him; (3) both to prove and to illustrate the life of the Christian. It is a new life, dead to the old life, lived in a new and more intimate relation to God. This last use of the idea, while most fruitful for religious experience, has had little effect upon formal Christian theology.

3. *The second century.*—This is the period of the beginning of that systematic Christian thinking which later became the church's theology. It was inspired less by the demand of the Christian life for self-expression than by opposition to heretical philosophies. These philosophies were the determining elements in shaping Christian expression. The heresies, by reaction, produced the theology.

The philosophies most influential in molding Christian expression were those of Gnosticism. It is not necessary here, even if it were possible, to analyze the forms of that protean system of thought. It was an honest attempt to join Christian belief to a philosophic world-system. As such it must command respect.

At two points Gnosticism touched the belief in the resurrection, and at both seemed to cut across the essentials of Christian life. In the first place, it denied the reality of the incarnation. For the Gnostic, flesh was evil. He believed that it was impossible for the Divine to unite with flesh. If Spirit seemed to be flesh, that was only a semblance, an illusion. This teaching struck at the root of the ordinary Christian faith. If Christ were not really flesh and blood, then how can he benefit us, who are flesh and blood? The Christian life of the second century sought to keep its feet squarely upon the ground. Its battles with the sins of the flesh were very real. It must have a Savior from those sins who was himself not less real. In the belief of his union of flesh and spirit, the spirit of Christians found religious redemption. Christians felt that they must have a Savior, not apart from the flesh, but in the flesh. If Christ was not in the flesh, then the future is also jeopardized. If Christ was not truly raised, what ground is there for supposing that we shall be raised?

Ignatius speaks with passionate urgency:

Shut your ears, then, when any man speaks to you against Christ Jesus, who was . . . . truly born and ate and drank . . . . was truly persecuted . . . .

was truly crucified and died, who moreover was truly raised from the dead, his Father having raised him, who in like manner will also raise us who believe on him—yea, his Father will raise us in Christ Jesus apart from whom we have no true life. But if, as certain godless ones, unbelievers, say, that he suffered only in appearance, . . . why am I in bonds? Why do I wish to fight with wild beasts? Then I die in vain. Yes, then I am a liar against the Lord [Tral. 9-10].

If these things were done by our Lord in semblance, then I am also a prisoner only in semblance. And why then have I given myself to death, to fire, to sword, to wild beasts? But near the sword, near God; with the beasts, with God [Smyr. 4].

Here is a healthy protest against an empty idealism, which was cutting the ground from beneath the feet of religious experience, and making mere moonshine out of the stern reality of suffering and heroism and martyrdom. The resurrection must be a real resurrection in order to guarantee both the triumph of the Spirit in the flesh now, and the resurrection of the dead in the future.

Thus far the Christian position had been only an emphasis on traditional belief. On another point the dualism of Gnosticism had a direct effect in the development of belief regarding the resurrection. Not only did Gnosticism affirm that the fleshly life of Christ must have been only an appearance, but since all matter is evil, redemption must be from matter, that is, from the flesh. The resurrection of the believer, then, must be not a resurrection of the flesh. But the common Christian belief, inherited from Judaism, was a belief in a resurrection, not apart from, but in, the flesh. Paul, with his capacity for nice distinctions, had worked out an answer to the Greek objections to bodily resurrection by affirming a body which yet is not flesh. Even he could not conceive of the happy life of a bodiless spirit, possibly because he stood too near that common primitive conception of the bodiless shades wandering sadly in Hades. The rest of the Christian world was not able to appreciate even Paul's distinction. He said that flesh and blood should not inherit the kingdom of God. They held that the resurrection would be the resurrection of the flesh. One could illustrate from Clement's letter to the Corinthian Church; from Justin's treatise "On the Resurrection"; from Hermas, Sim. 5:7, 2; from Ignatius, Eph. 7, Smyr. 2; and from numerous other passages in the second-century Christian writings.

During the second century the belief found its formal expression in the old Roman symbol, which is the origin of the Apostles' Creed, in the words "resurrection of the flesh." In the Apostles' Creed the words "resurrection of the flesh" still stand in both Latin and Greek. They were literally translated in the earliest English forms of the Creed, but were later changed to the more Pauline phrase, "resurrection of the body." There were three reasons for thus clinging to the belief in the resurrection of the flesh, even at the expense of the perversion of Paul's ideas. One was that certain schools of Gnostics, notably that of Marcion, claimed that Paul was in agreement with their philosophy. Another was that most Christians could not conceive of eternal life as possible without the flesh. The third was the fear—Hermas and Tertullian speak as though the fear was based on facts—that, if the flesh were not subject to judgment and punishment, sins of the flesh would, for many Christians, be too powerful to be resisted.

The strongest argument for the resurrection of the flesh was the fleshly resurrection of Christ. To quote again from the passionate words of Ignatius:

I know and believe that he was in the flesh even after the resurrection; and when he came to Peter and his company, he said to them, Lay hold and handle me, and see that I am not a demon without body; and they touched him and believed, being joined unto his flesh and blood. Wherefore they also despised death, nay, they triumphed over death [Smyr. 3].

The classic expression of this phase of thought, however, came at the end of the century in Tertullian's *De resurrectione carnis*. Tertullian believed himself to be pleading, not merely for correctness of belief, but for purity of life. He pursues his argument into all possible ramifications. He claims Paul, and does his best to explain away Paul's statement that flesh and blood shall not inherit the kingdom of God; then he turns, as his final triumphant argument, to the resurrection and ascension of Christ.

That, however, which we have reserved for a concluding argument, will now stand as a plea for all, and for the Apostle himself, if he had so abruptly, . . . so indiscriminately, so unconditionally, excluded from the kingdom of God, and indeed from the court of heaven itself, all flesh and blood whatsoever, since Jesus is still sitting there at the right hand of the Father, man, yet God . . . flesh and blood, yet purer than ours.



In various other passages he uses the resurrection of Christ to prove our fleshly resurrection. With this position the important developments of this doctrine in the early church closed.

We have found the following uses of the resurrection of Christ: to prove that he is the Messiah; to prove that believers will also be raised; to prove that the present life of the Christian is a new, spiritual life; to prove that this very flesh which is laid in the grave will rise in the resurrection. Each of these uses carried with it certain emotional values which enriched life and certain ethical values which purified it.

The resurrection, we may well believe, also played some part in the development of a belief in Christ as a person transcending human nature. Just what that part was it is not easy to see. The resurrection seems to have been rather a contributing factor than a primal cause for the growth of belief in a metaphysically divine Christ.

All these beliefs, with the single exception of the anti-Pauline view of the resurrection of the flesh, are still part of the living religion of most Christians. Undoubtedly also for many minds it is the resurrection of Christ which furnishes the proof, or an important part of the proof, of these beliefs. If, however, the connection between any of them and the resurrection of Christ seems to a modern Christian not so clear as it did to a Christian of the second century, that does not necessarily mark his religion as less Christian or his communion with the spirit of Christ as less real. The religious needs of men remain much the same; but the use made of historic beliefs to meet these needs continually changes. We must recognize that the modern emphasis upon the life of Christ, the loving and reverent following of him who "went about doing good," has tended to diminish in some minds the religious values of the resurrection. It is always best to use fully the religious impulse which the time presents. No one should ignore the emphasis on the life of Christ; but it would be well, in the interest of balanced thinking, to ask whether the reverence for the life and teaching of Jesus would have its present power were it not for our sense of his transcendence over life given by the belief in his resurrection.

## JESUS AND MODERN CIVIC LIFE

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The trying-out place of religion is the city. Here life is at its intensest. Here man deals directly and almost solely with man, for nature is reduced to subjection by the city. And all human relations raise moral questions. The city is the ganglion of the world's unrest. It paints large the social inequalities of the day, the industrial maladjustment, the contrasts of riches and poverty.

There is a pretty general impression that the city is not congenial soil for religion, and that the big centers of population are inevitably the last to respond to the religious appeal. I think the facts are otherwise. There is less vice in the city than in the town, and in the town than in the village, and in the village than in the country. The great variety of interests which the city offers and the unrelenting demand of city activities leave smaller place for the grosser forms of temptation than the less occupied rural life. City minds may be beaten hard by much traffic like city streets, but things pass over them more quickly. The city goes about its own business with apparent indifference, but its heart is not bad. St. John's idea of heaven is a city.

But the city is strategic. Cities are destined to become bigger and bigger. They are running over into the country and giving to country life the characteristics of city life. Cities will more and more dominate the country. And it is here that the religion of Jesus has its supreme opportunity.

It was only for prudential reasons that Jesus turned from the city to the towns and country. He realized the significance of the centers of population and seats of government, and he began at Jerusalem, as his disciples were later bidden to do—I follow John's order which on every count seems to me historical whatever may be said of the discourses. But he was embarrassed by his urban popularity, and for the safeguarding of his total work he

withdrew to the country. When the time had come the man of Galilee went down and joined issue with Jerusalem. He wept over the city, and outside its wall he died.

The organized spirit of Jesus is the church. It is the immediate agency through which the teachings of Jesus are to be impressed upon modern life. But the church is not joining issue with the cities. It is beating retreat from the points of danger. It is moving away from the foreigner and the dancehall and the saloon and settling down comfortably in the quiet suburbs. The stampede of churches from the congested part of the city would be a dismal fact to contemplate but for this other fact: the men who touch the life of the city most potently live in the suburbs and there are within reach of the church. Suburban churches are practically city churches. And the church which in the future will bear most heavily upon the city is the church in the suburbs whose men are men of large affairs and have in their keeping the well-being of a big part of the city population.

Nevertheless, the village is overchurched and the city underchurched. Home missionaries are sent to the disappearing Indians and the scattered peoples of mountains and plains, while in the cities hundreds of thousands have no teacher of religion but the newspaper, which is inadequate. The church of the city is losing its former prestige, and moral leadership is being assumed by the magazines. Statesmen are speaking more plainly on great moral issues than clergymen. I am not jealous of the magazine writer with his half-million readers or of the political leader who is read throughout the land. Every voice that speaks with an authority that the world heeds is interpreting Christ. I am not jealous of the school, the hospital, the settlement. They are evidence of how far society has been christianized. These agencies may be trusted to perpetuate for a time the Christian civilization which the church has produced. But any further progress toward Christian ideals requires the initiative of the church. If the christianizing of the cities is to make head, the church's voice must be heard too. The church is the official organ of Jesus.

In order that the religion of Christ may be more effective in the cities, there needs to be a religious propaganda that is more per-



sistently and intelligently directed. It must be adapted to the city. At present the church is baffled by the city. We ministers are dismayed by the swing of the city from the church. The city seems almost as impenetrable as darkest Africa. We have almost given up trying to cope with it. But the city is being coped with by other agencies at work within its walls. As cities grow, the questions of housing the people, of food supply, and of transportation become increasingly difficult, but they are being successfully handled. The schools and the amusement venders meet the situation. The theatrical man is not aghast over the apartment house nor the merchant in despair over the shifting population. The politician gets his appeal to the voters and the voters to the polls. The city problem is handled now.

And the church can solve it, too, if we give the same sort of thought to the problem. Elsewhere antiquated methods have given place to modern methods, and the equipment of a few years ago is torn out for equipment that is up to date. The churches are using the equipment of fifty years ago and are conducting their public worship and parish activities almost without change. The church's maladjustment to its environment is most strikingly illustrated by the fact that most of our city churches are trying to meet city conditions with an elaborated country-church program. The general merchandise store at the crossroads has given place to the department store, but the city church is only a larger and more elaborate country church.

The church must set itself in earnest to the solution of the city problem as distinct from the country problem. It must have a city program. And we shall be wise if we learn from those who have mastered the city problem: the merchant, the theater-manager, the educator, the politician. Of course they have the advantage of us as the needs they supply are more pressing and immediate, but there is in the heart of man a need of religion, too, though we may have to interpret it. True, we will have to create a demand for the church, but this we can do when we make it supply the religious needs of all the people. There must be a way to capture the imagination of the city for Christ as for a political idol. Christ is forever the world's hero.

But the bottom difficulty is that the church has not thought of itself as existing for the city. Hence it has not seriously grappled the city problem. It has not changed its program, because it has existed for itself. It has used too much of its power just to keep the machinery going and left too little for the raw material upon which the church should operate. Churches have died through too much trying to preserve their own life. They have thought of their minister as one employed to look after them and please them. If only they would think of themselves as a missionary enterprise, and forget their own life in the effort to bring life to others, they would find the life that abounds.

A scientific definition of life is conformity with environment. And the prime thing for a living church is to be adapted to its environment and to have a constructive program by which it can serve its own community. A church must meet the needs of the community in which it is located, and it must not be guided by the needs of some other community or some other age. In making out its program the modern test of efficiency should be applied. An institution should not be perpetuated simply because it is hallowed by antiquity. If a meeting or organization requires more effort to keep it going than it contributes life and power to the church, it is uneconomic and wasteful and should be given up. This test may eliminate some traditional forms of church activity. But what we are after is efficiency, not uniformity. It will cost a pang to give up some venerable forms of church work, but if they make no real contribution to the community and are not vital to the usefulness of the church, it will hurt less to discontinue them than to try and keep them alive by galvanizing an interest which is not real.

Churches are now placed in the neighborhoods which are most hospitable to the church. Those of the city's population who most need to be evangelized are thus farthest removed from the churches. In all probability, save in the case of a few churches strategically located, we shall have to abandon our church buildings after the morning service and reach the people in halls and theaters and on the street. But we must reach them! We believe that in the teachings of Jesus we have what the city needs. Our difficulty is

that of distribution. It is a difficulty which others have solved, and we must solve it too. It matters not what changes are necessary, we must find a way to make our Christian propaganda effective. When a church building ceases to be a point of contact and becomes rather a barrier in the way of getting the ear of the people, we must try some other way of approach.

Having found the method of bringing Christ to bear upon the city, what shall be our message? Here, too, we must remember that the religious problems of the city differ from those of the country in that they are mainly social. The Christian teacher cannot address the city as he would the country, if Christ's religion is really to grip city life. The city man is less put to it by questions of personal morality than the country man, as already intimated, because his mind and heart are more occupied. But he has to deal with the larger questions of social morality where the issues are not so clear. It is in the uncharted world of modern industry that men go astray. As to individual ethics there is little new to say. But the teachings of Jesus need to be put in terms of economic and industrial and social relationships.

The religion of Jesus is pre-eminently the religion of the city. He always treats man as a member of society. A hermit's cell is the poorest sort of place for Christian living. But in the new world of industry men deal with men in ways where they are at a loss when they try to apply the teachings of Jesus. We religious teachers have announced his principles and left it to men to apply them. They do not know how. The industrial world has outgrown our moral standards and men do not know whether they are following Christ or not. Many feel that something is wrong somewhere, but they have been caught by the slow drift of the system and do not know how to do otherwise. Some frankly say that to observe the Golden Rule would mean to be put out of business.

Now to make the religion of Jesus effective the Christian minister must show how Christ's teachings connect with the problems of the working day. Many men are eager to be guided. Others do not want to be disturbed, and if one minister here or there begins to point out what the Golden Rule means in industry and commerce they will call him a disturber. But should all of us be at it, using



tact and kindness and intelligence, we could lead the men of our churches honestly to face the requirements of Christ.

The problem which presses hardest in the city is the problem of the distribution of the products of labor. Some are struggling for the bare necessities of life and some have to spare. And this situation has come about not because men are greedy for gold and indifferent to the sufferings of their fellows. It does not arise out of the nature of our present industrial system. It arises out of the fact that every man wants to achieve success in his undertaking and that success in the industrial world has been measured by the money a man has made. He is driven to get together as much money as he can, for that is the evidence that he has succeeded.

The situation is to be saved, therefore, not so much by a new economic program as by a new spirit in industry. Government regulation and economic readjustment will be effective only when the religious spirit has created a new form of competition—the competition in service. This Jesus supplies us: “He that would be greatest among you let him be your servant.” Here is a new measure of success, a new standard of greatness. Let it be adopted generally and the scramble for money will cease. Then the question, “How much is he worth?” will mean, How much is he worth to the community? Then a business will be counted most successful not when it extracts most from the community and pays the largest dividends, but when it contributes most to the prosperity and happiness of the community. Then any industry which exists by paying starvation wages will be counted not only uneconomic, as we even now reckon it, but immoral.

Christian men now say they are enmeshed by the system and cannot pay more wages. They can if they are content with smaller dividends. And they will be content with less profit when they have learned to measure their success not by the money they make but by the service they render in the way of larger wages and a better and cheaper product.

To establish such a measure of success is not difficult, for most men really want to follow Christ. Those who have more than they need would be willing to get along with less if it were not that wealth stands for success. And when an enlightened Christian

conscience measures their success not by the riches they have accumulated but by the wealth they have distributed in the community, then will the incentive for piling up dividends be removed. In no other field of endeavor do we measure success by the money it wins. A man's success in art, science, statecraft, medicine, teaching, the ministry is not reckoned by the money he piles up; we hold him in less esteem who prostitutes any one of these to mere money-getting. The soldier gives himself to his country and his wage is a pittance. The army officer feels it no humiliation to be poor. And we may expect the same chivalry in business that we have in war and some of the professions.

The men engaged in money-making pursuits are not less fine than those engaged in activities where money-making is out of the question. But the former have been led to attach a false significance to money because it is the popular measure of success. The money standard must be changed if the heart of the city is to be really Christian. It is now being changed. Some men now think of their business as a trust to be administered for Christ's kingdom. And the Christian teacher must not fail to make clear in all faith and tenderness that the amassing of great wealth may be according to Christ's standards a sign of failure, in that it means service withheld from the community instead of service rendered.

I have no program of city redemption to suggest. But of this I am convinced: The expert Christian teacher must grapple with the city problem and find a way of getting the religion of Jesus to all the people. And the next step he must take is to popularize Christ's standard of success.



JERUSALEM FROM THE SOUTH: THE CITY OF DAVID IN THE FOREGROUND



## STUDIES IN THE PSALTER

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In the preceding articles the nature and form of the Psalter have been examined with special reference to its origin and date. It now remains to come to close quarters with this problem. But how is it to be attacked?

It has often been the fashion of late to begin with the internal evidence, or at least to lay the main emphasis upon it. This avenue of approach affords enchanting perspectives to the impressionist school of criticism, but it speedily leads into the wilderness of pure subjectivism. The peculiarities which inhere in the Psalter as a hymnbook, described in the previous articles, are so many warnings across the path of the internal evidence. Their unmistakable legend is: "No Thoroughfare." I am more and more convinced that the only proper way in which to begin an investigation into the question of the date of the Psalter is along the line of the external evidence. The way is, to be sure, a rather dusty, uninteresting public highway, but it serves to accustom us to the points of the compass. It gives a sense of direction. Only when we have reached the end of it are we at liberty to enjoy the explorer's privilege of striking off into the more exciting paths of the internal evidence. These paths are as delightfully soft, as mossily yielding to the foot of subjective criticism as Bypath Meadow was to Christian, and it is only when we have secured our sense of direction that we can safely enter upon them. I therefore feel bound to ask the readers of these articles to accompany me along the highway, though I have no very interesting scenery to promise you and though you are likely to become somewhat foot-sore.

The external evidence is of two kinds. (1) There is the usual kind drawn from other literature in which references are made to the Psalter as a collection, or in which citations or reminiscences of individual psalms may be found. In this connection the canon long ago laid down by Robertson Smith, but sadly neglected at

times, should always be observed: "The only sound principle for the historical study of the Psalter [is] that the discussion of the age of individual psalms must be preceded by an inquiry into the date of the several collections." Since, as we have previously seen, our present Psalter consists of a number of minor psalters of different dates, the bearing of the evidence for individual psalms upon the various collections of which they are members must always be kept in mind.<sup>1</sup> (2) There is also the special evidence furnished by the history of the temple music. This evidence is indirect. It does not furnish any proofs of the existence of the Psalter or of individual psalms, but only *premises* for their existence. Yet its value is not to be overlooked, especially in connection with a study of the psalm-titles.

With reference to the titles, if it be provisionally assumed that they are not by the authors of the psalms but belong to the redaction, they might be regarded as a third kind of external evidence as compared with that which is drawn from the psalms themselves. But as an integral part of the redaction of the Psalter they must be subsumed under the head of internal evidence so long as our inquiry is confined to the history of the Psalter as a collection. On the basis of the above considerations we may map out the course of our journey as follows: We are first to investigate the two main groups of the external evidence, and then examine the testimony of the titles in the light of this evidence and upon the basis of all the foregoing attempt to fix the dates of the minor psalters. Only when these various guide-posts have been passed and the directions which they suggest duly noted are we prepared to cut our way into the thicket of the internal evidence of the psalms themselves.

#### THE EVIDENCE OF THE LITERATURE EXTERNAL TO THE PSALTER

I. The New Testament furnishes the most convenient starting-point for our journey. There can be no reasonable doubt that the writers of the New Testament not only knew the Psalter as we now

<sup>1</sup> Of course, it is conceivable that this or that psalm has been added later to a given collection (compare what was said on the anonymous psalms in the Davidic collections in Books I and II), but the above canon certainly furnishes the only correct general method of procedure.

have it, but also regarded it in the strictest sense as Scripture. The Book of Psalms is specifically referred to.<sup>2</sup> Some sixty-one of the one hundred and fifty psalms are directly quoted, besides the numerous reminiscences and allusions. These sixty-one psalms are taken indifferently from the five books of the Psalter. These facts could not demonstrate that all the remaining psalms were also present in the Psalter but, apart from the probabilities of the case, the next consideration implies beyond doubt that they were.

The Psalter had by this time attained full canonical dignity and was regarded as inspired in the most literal sense. The words of the Psalmists are practically the words of God or of Christ or of the Holy Spirit.<sup>3</sup> They are cited with the formulae regularly employed in citing the Scriptures.<sup>4</sup> The psalms were argued from and interpreted, as all inspired documents in those days were argued from and interpreted. That is, their words were treated as detached oracles and allegorized on the assumption that a word of God must have a hidden meaning.<sup>5</sup> If any further evidence were needed, it would be found at Luke 24:44, where the Psalter is grouped with the Law and the Prophets as a part of the inspired Scriptures upon the basis of which the messiahship of Jesus could be proved.<sup>6</sup>

But if the canonicity of the Psalter was as assured as these facts indicate, it is impossible to think of any psalms being subsequently added to it. Josephus tells us plainly what is involved in the idea of canonicity at this time. "No one hath been so bold as either to add anything to them [the Scriptures] or take anything from them, or to make any change in them" (*Con. Apion*, I. 8). But the view of the Psalter which the New Testament writers

<sup>2</sup> Luke 20:42; Acts 1:20.

<sup>3</sup> Mark 12:36; Heb. 1:5, 13; 5:6.

<sup>4</sup> E.g., γέγραπται (Rom. 15:3); ἡ γραφή (John 19:28, 29).

<sup>5</sup> Compare the first two chapters of Hebrews for a classical illustration.

<sup>6</sup> The psalms were often cited as words of David (e.g., Rom. 11:9; Mark 12:36; Acts 1:16). At Heb. 4:7 "David" would seem to be used as the name of the entire collection, on the supposition that all the psalms were by David. The psalm here quoted as David's (Ps. 95) has no title in the Hebrew, and we know that the tendency to ascribe all the Psalter to David was very strong in later times. Yet it must be remembered that this psalm has a Davidic title in the LXX and the author of Hebrews depended upon the LXX.



assume as a matter of course must have already been held a considerable time before they wrote.

II. The Psalms of Solomon indirectly support this inference. This interesting collection dates from about the middle of the first century B.C. It would seem to have been consciously modeled on the great Davidic Psalter. Its psalms were probably written originally in Hebrew and used in the liturgical services, at least of the synagogue.<sup>7</sup> From the great influence which the Davidic psalter exerted upon the author of the Solomonian Psalter we might infer the canonicity of the former collection, but fortunately there is other evidence before this time which makes it unnecessary to rest our case on an inference.

III. In a letter incorporated into the Second Book of the Maccabees we read as follows: "Not only were the same things related in the writings, namely the memorabilia of Nehemiah [or "about Nehemiah"] but also, how he, founding a library, gathered together the books concerning the kings and prophets and the [books] of David [ $\tau\acute{\alpha}$  τοῦ Δαυείδ] and letters of kings concerning temple gifts" (II Macc. 2:13). The letter in which this statement is found is universally admitted to be spurious. It can hardly be dated with safety earlier than the first years of the first Christian century. This has led many scholars to disparage the tradition unduly. The date of the documentary evidence of a tradition is not necessarily to be identified with the date of the tradition. Though contained in a late document, the present tradition is in several respects highly original. It has probably drifted down out of a considerably earlier period and been caught in the literary eddy in which we now find it. The allusion to "the [books] of David" can only be understood of a collection of Davidic psalms. Nothing is said as to the extent of the collection. Whether "David" is to be strictly taken or includes other psalms, as in the New Testament, it is impossible to say. The relationship of the collection to the Canon is equally vague. The context suggests that the real writer of the letter understood the allusion to be to the sacred books, but the peculiar phrasing of the tradition itself suggests

<sup>7</sup> Selah occurs twice in these psalms (Pss. 17 and 18), and the note "for the chief musician" probably occurs once (Ps. 8).

an opposite view. The reference to "founding a library," to "letters of kings concerning temple gifts," which cannot be certainly identified with any biblical books, and the striking omission of any reference to the Law, all suggest that the activities of Nehemiah were due to literary and historical, rather than to dogmatic, interests.<sup>8</sup> We may therefore conclude that in a dateless but probably quite early tradition, preserved in a much later document, Nehemiah is connected with a collection of Davidic psalms of unknown extent, the relationship of which to the Canon is not expressed but would seem to be rather loose.

IV. Our next evidence is found in the First Book of the Maccabees. The original work was undoubtedly written in Hebrew or Palestinian Aramaic and may safely be placed about 100 B.C. Our present Greek translation, however, can hardly be dated earlier than the last decades B.C. There are three undoubted references to the Psalter in I Macc. Two of these require no comment.<sup>9</sup> The third is important. Ps. 79:2, 3 is formally cited at I Macc. 7:17 and applied to a massacre of the party of the Chasidim or "saints" which occurred in 162 B.C. Some scholars have attempted to argue from the peculiar formula of citation used here that the psalm was cited as an inspired oracle. Literally the formula reads, "According to the words which [he] wrote." The subject of the verb in the original is not expressed. The difficulty was early felt. A correction of the Sinaitic MS supplies "the prophet." Other MSS supply David or Asaph. It has been pointed out that subjectless verbs often occur in citation formulas in the New Testament and patristic literature where God or Spirit or Scripture is to be understood and the citation thereby described as an inspired oracle, and it is claimed that the present citation

<sup>8</sup> The omission of any reference to the Law is best explained as due to the fact that its existence was assumed as a matter of course. The way in which the other books are referred to, and especially the emphasis upon Nehemiah rather than upon Ezra against the strong set of later tradition—all are marks of the primitive character of this tradition.

<sup>9</sup> I Macc. 2:63; cf. Ps. 146:4; I Macc. 9:23; cf. Ps. 92:8. The latter passage shows the influence of the LXX but this must be attributed to the Greek translator, as it is unlikely that the author of the original Hebrew work would have used the LXX in his scriptural quotations.

should be interpreted in the same way. But a careful examination of the citation formulas in the New Testament, apostolic Fathers, and Justin Martyr fails to disclose any real analogy to the formula used here and it is more than doubtful if an inference may be drawn from it as to a theory of the inspiration of the psalm.<sup>10</sup> This conclusion is of some importance. Ps. 79 is one of the psalms which, on internal grounds, has been most confidently affirmed to be Maccabean. On the other hand it has been objected on the basis of the citation formula that the psalm is already quoted as inspired by 100 B.C., and therefore it must have been composed much earlier than the Maccabean period. But if the formula of citation does not imply inspiration, this argument falls to the ground. But even if the intention was to cite the psalm as Scripture, the argument for an earlier date than the early period of the Maccabees would not be sound. A period of sixty or seventy years would afford time enough for a document to acquire a sacred character. The history of the New Testament Canon will teach us that much. Moreover, if it could be shown that there were older collections of psalms already in existence and regarded as inspired in the Maccabean period, later psalms, especially those used in the temple, would very easily become attached to them and the odor of sanctity of the older psalms would speedily communicate itself to the later psalms.

One further point must be noted in connection with the three quotations in I Macc. The first two are from psalms in Books IV-V, the last is from the Asaph collection of the Elohim Psalter. Were these three psalms already members of these minor psalters? It is impossible to say on the basis of the evidence before us. But if the three psalms were still circulating independently when I Macc. was written, then the present collections in which they stand would be subsequent to 100 B.C. If on the other hand they were already members of the present collections, sufficient time would have to be allowed after their composition for their insertion into

<sup>10</sup> The active *ἐγγραφεν* is probably found but once as a formula of citation in these writings and then only in the sense of command (Mark 12:19). Subjectless verbs which imply God as subject are, with rare exceptions, in the present tense.



these collections<sup>11</sup> and for the later final redaction of the present great miscellany. Still, even for this complicated process an interval of sixty to seventy years might be sufficient.

From the examination of I Macc. we conclude that there is proof of the existence of two psalms now found in Books IV-V and of one psalm now found in the Asaph collection of Book III as early as 100 B.C. That these psalms were members at that time of the collections to which they now belong can neither be affirmed nor denied. That they were regarded as inspired cannot be proved. But even if both of these suppositions were adopted for the sake of argument, they would not require a composition of the psalms before the rise of the Maccabees (*ca.* 168 B.C.).

V. The next piece of evidence for the existence of the Psalter is of fundamental importance. The famous work *Ecclesiasticus* or *The Wisdom of Ben Sira* was originally written in Hebrew. It was translated into Greek by a grandson of the author. To his translation the grandson prefixed a Prologue in which he states that he went into Egypt in the thirty-eighth year of Ptolemy Euergetes, or 132 B.C., and during his residence there translated his grandfather's work. The translation will therefore have been made some time after 132. It is usually assigned to about 130. Yet it may have been later, and in fact the passage in which the date is given, though grammatically and exegetically very difficult, strongly suggests a date for the translation after the death of Ptolemy (*ca.* 117 B.C.).<sup>12</sup> Three times in the Prologue the grandson refers by means of a circumlocution to the Old Testament Scriptures:

a) Whereas many and great things have been given to us through the Law and the prophets and those who followed them.

b) My grandfather, Jesus (Ben Sira), having given himself more especially to the reading of the Law and the Prophets and the other patristic books,

<sup>11</sup> Some psalms may conceivably have been written with special reference to a collection, in which case the time of their composition and the time of their redaction would be the same. But this would not affect many psalms.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Smend, *Die Weisheit des Jesus Sirach*, 3 ff. The recent attempt made by Hart (*Ecclesiasticus in Greek*, Cambridge, 1909) to push the date of the Prologue back to 247, I can hardly think will ultimately commend itself.

and having gained an adequate familiarity with them, was drawn on himself to compose something [one of the books?] pertaining to instruction and wisdom.

Then after commenting on the difficulty of translating his grandfather's work from Hebrew into Greek, the translator finally says:

c) For not only this work, but also the Law itself and the prophecies and the rest of the books have no small difference when spoken in their original form.

At first sight these passages seem to have little bearing upon our subject. But their significance becomes apparent when the classification of the books in the Hebrew Canon is remembered. This has never been topical as in our English Bibles (i.e., Law, History, Poetry, Prophecy). A threefold ("tripartite") division was followed: Law, Prophets, Writings. To this division our Prologue contains the first specific reference in literature.

Now the Psalter is found in the third division of the Hebrew Canon among the "Writings."<sup>13</sup> It has therefore been confidently argued that the recognition of the tripartite division of the Scriptures in the Prologue necessarily implies the completion of the Hebrew Canon, which in turn would carry with it not only the existence but also the canonicity of the Psalter as early as 117 B.C. Is not the whole equal to the sum of all its parts?

But this argument is fallacious. Granted that there were three divisions of the Scriptures thus early, the question is: Were they coextensive with the present three divisions? At this point the study of the origin of the Psalter merges into the history of the Canon. Without entering into a full discussion of the latter subject, it is sufficient to note that criticism recognizes three great stages in the formation of the Canon which correspond to its tripartite division. There was first the Canon of the Law, originating in the time of Nehemiah and Ezra (445-400 B.C.), then a Canon of the Prophets which was already known at least in its main outlines to Ben Sira the grandfather, *ca.* 190 B.C. (*vid. infra*).

<sup>13</sup> The Prophets are subdivided into (a) Former Prophets: Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings, and (b) Later Prophets: Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the Twelve Minors. The Writings are: Psalms, Proverbs, Job; Songs, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, Esther; Daniel, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Chronicles, in this order.

There was finally the Canon of the Writings. This was formed out of a nucleus of books which for topical reasons or because of their recent origin were not included among the Prophets. This nucleus would seem to have occupied for some time a deuterocanonical position as compared with the first two groups, for it suffered various accretions from time to time as older books which had become increasingly venerated, or new books which strongly recommended themselves to the religious sense of the people, were added to it. The burning question in the history of the Canon is: When was the door to the third group finally shut so that other books could no longer find access to the sacred inclosure?

Since the first two groups were admittedly completed and incapable of receiving further additions when the grandson wrote his Prologue and since the grandson recognizes a third group as clearly as he does the first two groups, it has been inferred that the third group was also completed and closed by his day. But if what has been said of the origin of the last group in a nucleus capable of expansion is true, what seems to be a logical conclusion is found to be only an assumption. Granted a gradual expansion of the third group, the recognition of its *existence* does not necessarily involve a recognition of its *completion*. As a matter of fact the third division was almost certainly still in the process of forming. Daniel was not written until 168-165 B.C. and Esther possibly even later. Even if these very recent books were attached to the Writings as early as 117 B.C., this could only have been done on condition that the group was still in a fluid state and that such a theory as that of Josephus cited above, which would forever fix its limits, had not as yet been applied to it. All the evidence which we have favors such an undeveloped theory of canonicity, especially with reference to the Writings, in this early period. The grandson does not clearly distinguish his grandfather's work from the Scriptures in the above citations from the Prologue. The fact that the books of the third division were not admitted to either of the other groups, though at times topically belonging with them (e.g., Daniel the Prophet), shows that the Writings as a whole must have occupied a somewhat subordinate position in the Scriptures, which would be more likely to allow alteration. The varying



terminology applied in the Prologue to the third group as contrasted with the more exact nomenclature applied to the first two groups subtly suggests the more wavering outline of the last division. The confused state of the text illustrated by the wide divergences of the LXX from the Hebrew in such books as Daniel and Esther, to which large sections have been added, is incompatible with a strict theory of canonicity. Finally, the rabbinical discussions as to the exact limits of the Writings as late as the first century A.D., in the light of which the silence of the New Testament as to Songs, Esther, and Ecclesiastes gains a new significance, also suggest that a strict theory of canonicity was not applied to the third group in these earlier times. In view of all these facts, which can only be hinted at, we are safe in holding that while there was general agreement as to the nucleus of the Writings in the time of the grandson, there was no certainty as to its periphery, and that the doctrine of the Canon itself had not as yet been carefully defined.

What, now, is the bearing of all this upon the history of the Psalter? On the one hand there can be no question that the Psalter was one of those books which formed the nucleus of the group of Writings. Many of the psalms were used in the sacred services of the temple. As temple psalms they would naturally and speedily take on a sacred character. A large number of them were attributed to David, and this would increase their authority. The *a-priori* probability of such a development is supported by the evidence of Ecclesiasticus and Chronicles which show an extensive acquaintance with temple psalmody (*vid. infra*). Accordingly there can be no serious question that a collection of psalms was a constituent element and probably an originally constituent element of the group of "patristic writings" mentioned in the Prologue. On the other hand the collection of psalms as belonging to the third group would probably share in the vaguer ideas which attached to the canonicity of this group. Further, the same character of the Psalter as a temple hymnbook which would give it its speedy circulation among the people would also make in favor of continued accretions. Hymns do not naturally take on canonical character. They do not come with the "Thus

saith the Lord" of Prophecy. The idea of dogmatic authority and *exclusiveness*, inseparable from the idea of a canon, do not readily attach themselves to a *hymnbook*. Hence it is easy to see how many popular psalms which had been adopted into the temple ritual could gradually make their way into the older accredited collection. The limits of the collection would probably remain flexible for a considerable time. Thus the place of the Psalter in the third division of the Canon and also its nature as a hymn-book raise the question whether the collection of psalms which may safely be assumed as a part of the Writings by 117 B.C., was identical with the present Psalter. In view of what has already been said this is by no means obvious. But there is another element in the problem which has thus far been overlooked.

The grandson clearly implies in citation *c* given above that the Law, the Prophets, and the Writings had been *already translated* into Greek. Accordingly, the collection of psalms, which we have seen to be an integral part of the Writings, may safely be regarded as having been by this time also translated. The greater includes the less. But—and this is the really crucial point in the whole discussion—the earliest extant Greek translation of the Psalter, i.e., that of the LXX, is substantially identical with the Hebrew Psalter as we now have it. The same book-divisions, the same order of psalms (the variations in numbering are of little moment in this connection), the same accretions and redactions are found in the Greek translation as in the original. Of course, it is abstractly conceivable that there was an earlier form of the Greek Psalter which differed from its present form but kept gradually expanding as the Hebrew Psalter expanded, but there is absolutely no evidence of such a process. The Greek Psalter is in striking contrast in this respect, not only with the Greek Daniel and Esther, but also with the Greek Jeremiah, which undoubtedly *does* witness to a different stage in the history of the text of Jeremiah from that represented by the Hebrew form of the book. Under these circumstances the only correct standpoint to adopt for further investigation would seem to be to hold as a working hypothesis that the collection of psalms whose existence we may unhesitatingly infer from the Prologue of Ecclesiasticus, and whose translation we may

infer with equal assurance, was substantially identical with the Psalter which we now possess.

But if the Greek form of the Psalter already existed by 117 B.C., how much earlier than this is it necessary to go for the formation of the Hebrew Psalter in order to allow time for its acceptance even in a loose sense as Scripture and for its translation into Greek? On general principles a very considerable interval should be allowed for this double process. The question is again acute in view of the frequent assumption of Maccabean psalms. We have seen in connection with I Macc. that an interval of two generations might suffice for a psalm to acquire the dignity of Scripture, but would the shorter interval between the early Maccabean period and 117 suffice not only for this but for the translation of the Psalter into Greek? The same reasons which would favor a speedy circulation of the psalms after their composition and a speedy acquisition of scriptural dignity, would also favor a speedy translation. It is also fair to admit the greater possibility of so short an interval sufficing, if the Maccabean psalms were limited in number. But the presumption is becoming increasingly strong against a theory of the Psalter which allows so limited an interval for the working-out of so complicated a process.<sup>14</sup> If the external evidence drawn from the Prologue does not positively veto Maccabean psalms, at least it should make us extremely careful in examining the internal evidence for their existence. It is at this point that our sense of direction must be scrupulously preserved.

In the foregoing it was assumed that a collection of psalms formed the nucleus of the third division of the Scriptures mentioned in the Prologue. In proof of this assumption, reference was made by way of anticipation to Ecclesiasticus itself as distinguished from the Prologue and also to Chronicles. In order to supplement the argument from the Prologue an examination of these earlier sources is next in order.

<sup>14</sup> This is especially true, if, as is frequently done, many psalms are referred to the later Maccabean period.



## TRACES OF THE MATRONYMIC FAMILY IN THE HEBREW SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

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Historical criticism has made possible the study of the contents of the Old Testament from a sociological point of view. Many of the books are composite—collections of several sources written at periods of time separated from each other by centuries, and woven together by later hands. Until the various strands of these books were distinguished, and dated with all possible accuracy, the study of Hebrew social institutions was hopelessly blocked. It is now possible, however, to group the materials for any historical research in the Old Testament in a comparatively accurate chronological sequence.

The reader is familiar with the usual distinguishing marks of the four main sources of the Hexateuch—J, E, D, and P. These documents may be themselves composite; but the division of them into their component parts has not yet been accomplished so as to meet with general approbation. From different hands and from widely separated periods these four great sources come. The J source is not to be dated before 850 B.C. and in the main probably antedates 800 B.C. The E source was composed in the larger part probably during the next half-century (800–750 B.C.). The D source came very much later. Probably only a short time elapsed between the writing of this and the reign of Josiah. It is to be dated soon after 650 B.C. The P source is largely post-exilic. Its various parts were written between 570 and 450 B.C. Of the books of the Old Testament outside of the Hexateuch we may note many of the narratives of Samuel and Kings as arising soon after 1000 B.C. To these beginnings additions were made at intervals until the middle of the sixth century. These that have been mentioned provide the bulk of the material for the sociological investigator. Where other material is used the reader may refer to Kent's "Student's Old Testament,"

especially the *Beginnings of Hebrew History*, for the dating of the source.

As far as possible the investigator must regard the sources as furnishing data for the study of the time at which they were written. The sources, however, deal with incidents which occurred long before the time of writing. Thus the investigation becomes complex; an endeavor must be made to distinguish between the data of the original narrative and the color given to it by the later hand. It has been the aim of the present writer to collect the available evidences for the existence of a matronymic family system among the Hebrews, and, dealing with these evidences in the light of modern scholarship, to group the facts accordingly.

The terms "matronymic" and "patronymic" have been chosen in accordance with the most recent usage of sociologists, in preference to the more familiar terms "matriarchal" and "patriarchal." These latter are misleading. The sociologist who uses them does not use them in the sense which their derivation might imply. The matriarchal system is not a type of family in which women are the autocrats.<sup>1</sup> In the same way the patriarchal system is often wrongly considered as an absolute tyranny of the father over the members of his family. The terms "matriarchal" and "patriarchal" denote simply that in the systems which they define kinship is traced through the mother or through the father respectively. These types of family relationship are better expressed by the terms "matronymic" and "patronymic." It is obvious that in the United States the family system is in general of the "patriarchal" type, to use the older term, but it is often true that the father is not the dominant factor in family affairs.

The books of the Old Testament were all written under a patronymic system. This fact is so very evident and we in this day are so accustomed to that same system that the few evidences of a more ancient way of tracing kinship are apt to escape notice. The records were handed down in oral tradition before they were written. Early usage, furthermore, incorporated material from older sources into writings which were being compiled, without greatly changing their form; and thus there has been preserved for us the spirit and thought

<sup>1</sup> E. C. Parsons, *The Family*, 248.

of ages from which no written word has come to us. Thus, while the Old Testament books are permeated by the patronymic influence, there are yet traces of the older matronymic system to be found.

The first evidences of a matronymic family system are to be found in the naming of children by the mother. At first thought this naming of a child by its mother or father does not seem to be evidence in either direction, for in our own day the naming of the child is a matter for either parent to perform. This is true, however, only of the given name, the surname is always that of the father in strict accord with our patronymic system. In days when a man bore but one name, that name would be given by the parent through whom kinship was traced. It is a recognized principle that "Namen giebt wer das Eigenthumsrecht hat." We may be certain, therefore, that cases in the Old Testament wherein the mother names the child are traditions from the time of a matronymic system.

An investigation of the instances of naming children in the Old Testament reveals the striking fact that the mother names the child in the earlier sources, while in the later writings the father is the name-giver. Proceeding, therefore, from the later to the earlier source, the traces of the matronymic system become more and more evident. The following tables will show this at a glance.

	*J.	E.	P.
1. Named by father . . . .	†3	4	4
2. Named by mother . . . .	22	1	..
3. Uncertain . . . . .	(4)	..	..

\* Two of these are in the so-called *later J* sources in Judges; in one, the child is named by the father, in the other, by the mother.

† A textual error, corrected in Gen. 38:3, reduces the number to 3 from 4.

NOTE.—References included in the above table are as follows:

*J source:*

1. Gen. 4:26; 5:29; Judg. 8:31.
2. Gen. 4:1, 25; 11:11; 19:37, 38; 29:32, 33, 34, 35; 30:6, 8, 11, 13 (names in these four given by adoptive mother); 30:18, 20, 21, 24; 38:3 (textual error); 38:4, 5; Exod. 2:22; Judg. 13:24.
3. Gen. 25:24, 26; 38:29, 30.

*E source:*

1. Gen. 41:51, 52; Exod. 18:3, 4.
2. Gen. 35:18.

*P source:*

1. Gen. 5:3; 16:15; 17:19; 21:3.



There are no instances of naming children in the D source. The other books present at least six other cases of naming children:

Reference	Approximate Date	Named by
I Sam. 1:20.....	1000-850 B.C.	Mother
I Sam. 4:21.....	1000-850 B.C.	Mother (father dead)
II Sam. 12:24.....	1000-850 B.C.	Father (corrected text)
Isaiah 7:14.....	750-700 B.C.	Mother
I Chron. 4:9.....	After 400 B.C.	Mother
I Chron. 7:23.....	After 400 B.C.	Father

The evidence may be summed up thus: With decreasing prominence instances of "mother naming" are found from the earliest to the latest sources. The proportion of 22:3 in J and of 0:4 in P are striking evidences of the prominence of matronymic influence in the earliest as against the latest periods. The presumption is therefore strong that in periods preceding our written records the family system of the Hebrews was matronymic. Other evidence adds weight to this presumption.

Two narratives from Genesis may next be cited as bearing upon the question of the existence of a matronymic system in ancient Israel. Gen., chap. 24, contains the story of the betrothal of Rebekah to Isaac. Several turns of speech in the course of the narrative betray a matronymic spirit. Vs. 15 gives the genealogy of Bethuel, the father of Laban and Rebekah, by *female* descent: "Bethuel, the son of Milcah, the wife of Nahor, Abraham's brother." Vs. 24, in the words of Rebekah, traces the descent in the same way. (In vs. 47, when Abraham's servant repeats the words in his appeal for the hand of Rebekah, he changes the phraseology to the patronymic formula—an exception which proves the rule.) Again in vs. 28 Rebekah is depicted as running to tell *her mother's* house the news of the arrival of Abraham's servant. Vs. 53 represents the bridal presents as being given to Rebekah's *brother and her mother*; and in vs. 55 it is *her brother and mother* who give assent to the marriage of the maiden. These two latter verses accord well with what is known of matronymic families among other peoples. In the action of the story, the mention of Bethuel, father of Rebekah, occurs in 24:50 only; elsewhere he appears in genealogies (22:22, 23; 24:15,

24, 47; 25:20; 28:2, 5).<sup>2</sup> He clearly had little or nothing to do with the transaction in connection with Rebekah.

The traces of a matronymic family are very clear in this story, even though there has been some working-over of the material by those who were familiar with a patronymic system.

The story of Jacob and his serving to obtain Leah and Rachel as his wives (Gen., chaps. 30, 31) bears several traces of a matronymic family. It has been a matter of frequent comment that this marriage presents many similarities to the so-called "beena" marriages of Ceylon. A "beena" marriage is one in which the husband either enters the tribe of the wife, or visits her at intervals, while the children are reckoned as belonging to the tribe of the mother, and not to that of the father. Clearly such a marriage is either part of a matronymic system or a relic of such a system. It is such a relic which is preserved for us in the story of Gen., chaps. 30, 31. The patronymic system shows its influence upon the main thread of the story, transforming the marriage into a purchase marriage; but if it were a simple marriage by purchase, the secret, stealthy departure

<sup>2</sup> Possibly the text should be corrected to read Bethuel as the name of a woman, for

1. The father has nothing to do with the incidents, whereas the mother is mentioned throughout.

2. Commentators suggest the deletion of the name in 24:50 because it is that of the father and not that of the mother.

3. The latest lexicon (B.D.B.) has difficulty in giving the root of the name as that of a male, and has to change the first radical to מ in order to do so (cf. Brown, Driver, Briggs, *Eng. Heb. Lex.*, 143).

4. The name might be a composite of אֵל and the feminine noun בַּת daughter. (The arabic preserves the old case endings which occur now and then in Hebrew words. Cf. חִיתוֹ-אֶרֶץ, Gen. 1:24 and Gesenius ed., §88b).

Objections: (1) The genealogies regard the name as that of a man.

Answer: (a) In Gen. 22:22, 23 (J) the only hint that would denote the gender is to be found in the use of יָלַד in Gen. 22:23, "And Bethuel יָלַד Rebekah." It is true that יָלַד is used in the sense of "beget"; but more often it is used of the mother in the sense of "bring forth." (b) In Gen. 24:15, 24, 27 the change required is slight, being merely בַּת for בֶּן; in Gen. 25:20 we should read אַרְמִיָּה for אַרְמִי; and 28:2, 5 אַמִּי for אָבִי, and אַרְמִיָּה for אַרְמִי. Taken together these changes seem great, unless we remember that (c) those who wrote down the oral traditions were living in a patronymic period.

2. Septuagint and other versions suggest no change.

Answer: The changes were made at the times of writing the document, long antecedent to the versions.

of Jacob cannot be accounted for. If, however, it were a "beena" marriage, the flight from Laban must needs be secret, although the wives had been persuaded to follow their wealthy and fortunate husband (cf. Gen. 31:14-16). Furthermore, Gen. 31:27 ff. clearly implies that the wives and *the children* were regarded as the property of Laban. "And Jacob answered and said to Laban, 'Because I was afraid: for I said, lest thou shouldst take thy daughters from me by force'" (Gen. 31:31). "And Laban answered and said unto Jacob, 'The daughters are my daughters, *and the children are my children*, and the flocks are my flocks, and all that thou seest is mine; and what can I do this day for these my daughters, or unto their children, whom they have borne?'" (Gen. 31:43). These passages may be interpreted in the light of patronymic influence as the grief of a loving father and grandfather over the parting from children and grandchildren, and the surreptitious departure of his son-in-law. In view of the matronymic conditions which seem to prevail in the family of Rebekah in chap. 24, we should, however, give weight to the evidence for such a system in these chapters. It is probable that Laban claimed and was sustained in a right to the women, his daughters, and to their children. Jacob took a secret departure, because he recognized Laban's right to take his daughters from him by force, if necessary. Such an interpretation would regard the story as tradition of a "beena" marriage under a matronymic system, which had been worked over under patronymic influence into its present mixed condition. The traces of a mother-family are considerable.

Proof of the occurrence of "beena" marriages is forthcoming in the case of Samson and the woman of Timnah in Judg. 14:5-10. The fact that such marriages were contracted in early Israel is a strong point in favor of the theory that a matronymic type of family organization preceded the well-known patronymic type.

Another narrative presents traces of a matronymic system in unmistakable form. It is the story of Abimelech and his conspiracy to obtain the judge's power as it is recorded in the ninth chapter of Judges. Judg. 8:31 states that the mother of Abimelech was the "concubine" (פִּילגֶשֶׁת) of Gideon. Such a sexual relation was regarded as marriage as we may see at once from the story in Judg.,



chap. 19. The Levite whose concubine (פִּלְגֶשֶׁת) left him is referred to as the "son-in-law" of her father, and the latter is termed his "father-in-law." Evidently there existed some sort of a marriage relation between the Levite and his concubine. To return to Abimelech, we note in Judg. 9:5 that "Abimelech went unto his father's house at Ophrah, and slew his brethren." In order to carry out this bloody usurpation he called upon his mother's brethren for aid (Judg. 9:1). In his appeal he said, "Remember also that I am your bone and your flesh" (9:2). "And his mother's brethren spoke of him in the ears of all the men of Shechem all these words; and their hearts inclined to follow Abimelech; for they said, '*He is our brother*'" (9:3). The significance of the story in its relation to a matronymic system lies not in the fact that Abimelech appealed to his mother's brethren for aid, since he would hardly have appealed to his father's brethren for help to usurp their own authority, even under a patronymic system. It is significant, however, that his mother's brethren recognize kinship with him and aid him. They regarded him as one of their own stock. Matronymic custom is apparent in the story.

The instances of marriage between a man and his half-sister are further evidences of a matronymic system of kinship. In a patronymic system such marriages would be frowned upon and probably would be made illegal. In a matronymic system, however, the pair would not be near relatives and their marriage would be legal. Whether the marriage of Abram and Sarah be regarded as historical or not, the story may be regarded as good evidence for marriage forms. Abram and Sarah were both the children of Terah (Gen. 11:27 ff.), but by different mothers. Since the names are not recorded, we may for convenience call the name of Abram's mother A and of Sarah's, B. If kinship were traced through the mothers, Abram would belong to the A family and Sarah to the B family. Hence marriage between them would be legal. While such marriages might be permitted in a patronymic, polygamous system, and might possibly have their origin in such a system, the greater probability is that their origin is to be traced to a preceding system of the matronymic type. Such marriages between half-sister and half-brother persisted until a late date in Hebrew history. An instance

of their possibility is found in II Sam. 13:13 in the case of Amnon and Tamar. Such marriages are to be regarded not as direct but as confirmatory evidence for a matronymic system. Taken in connection with other evidences, they have weight.

Other fragmentary and more doubtful evidence for the existence of a matronymic system has been cited by writers at various times, but the evidence adduced seems enough. We could not expect to find clearer indications than those which have been presented, when we consider that we are seeking in later documents for traces of a social system which prevailed in the days of the oral tradition, from which the documents were shaped; and that the documents as we now have them have passed through a long period of patronymic influences. The evidence is decidedly in favor of the theory of a matronymic system in Israel prior to the patronymic system, which latter supplanted it after a long struggle.

## THE DEATH AND RESURRECTION OF JESUS CHRIST<sup>1</sup>

MATT. 27:11-50; 28:1-20

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It is interesting to note that Matthew devotes one-fourth of his gospel to the death of Jesus and the events occurring within the last week, leading up to the death. He cannot then be writing a complete biography of Jesus, but is presenting a drama of the "death struggle 'twixt old systems and His Word." It is the struggle of truth against custom, as in the case of Socrates; but it is far more; it is the struggle of the religion of the Spirit against the religion of external authority.

The struggle is fully on in Matt. 21:23, when ecclesiastical officialism asks, "By what authority doest thou these things, and who gave thee this authority?" Jesus' counter-question concerning their view of the authority of John the Baptist is not a mere retort to stop the mouth of an opponent, but is just the question of authority transferred to another field so as to become an objective question free from personal bias. If officialism cannot recognize divine authority in the unofficial John the Baptist, there is no common criterion for authority in general, hence there can be no understanding of the authority of Jesus. The idea of divine authority communicated directly is beyond the range of these "machine" religionists. The Bearer of the gospel which "finds and fills the heart of every man" open to receive it must be rejected by those who set up an institutional entity between the soul and God.

But Jesus is not simply on the defense. The parables that follow "carry the war into Africa." In the parable of the Two Sons Jesus tells the regnant officialism that publicans and harlots will go into the kingdom before them. In the parable of the Wicked Tenants Jesus says, "The Kingdom of God shall be taken from you, and given to a nation bringing forth the fruits thereof."

<sup>1</sup> This material covers the International Uniform Sunday-School Lessons for December 11 and 18.



The struggle takes a new turn from the theological question of authority to the political question of patriotism, insincerely propounded by a joint committee representing both sides of the question—a committee from the Pharisees made up of Pharisees and Herodians. This new question is, “Is it right under the theocracy to pay tribute to the Roman emperor?” Though it is a casuistic question meant to ensnare Jesus, and though the Herodians are used as cat’s-paws, the main issue is really unchanged—the divine authority of the hierarchy.

The counter-question of Jesus as to how David can call a Messiah, who is merely the son of David, Lord, again touches the question of authority, and suggests a later utterance, “No man can call Jesus Lord, but by the Spirit.” The outcome of the struggle between the authority of truth and the authority of the hierarchy is evident. Truth must go to the scaffold in order to sway the future. “The death of Jesus was not only historically inevitable but teleologically necessary.”

#### THE TRIAL AND DEATH OF JESUS. MATT. 27:11-50

When Jesus comes before Pilate the Jewish hierarchy has already given the death sentence (Matt. 26:66). But his death cannot be simply a Jewish matter. The power of life and death is in the hand of the gentile governor. When Jesus stands before Pilate the first question, “Art thou King of the Jews?” shows both the charge that had been laid against Jesus by the hierarchy, and Pilate’s recognition of the emptiness of the charge. Pilate is to be credited with an earnest desire to release Jesus, but he is to be condemned for his lack of the principle of justice. He, however, is not acting on his own initiative. On the one hand, he is forced to try a case against his will; on the other, he is carrying out the conciliating, time-serving policy of Rome. While he hesitates and waits for the breeze that is to fill his sail and determine his direction, a crowd having come up, demands its annual feast-day privilege, the release of a prisoner. This happy circumstance Pilate attempts to use for the release of Jesus. He will play the sympathies of the crowd, which may have shared in giving Jesus the title of King, against the rulers who have been stirred to envy



THE MOUNT OF OLIVES; LOOKING NORTHEAST FROM ACROSS THE KIDRON

on account of the popularity of Jesus. But the crowd is always in unstable equilibrium between the priest and the prophet, with all the natural advantage on the side of the priest who is in control of the machinery of the established order. In this case the failure of Jesus after the triumphal entry into Jerusalem to carry out the popular idea of the Messiah made it easy now for the first time to turn the crowd against him. The note slipped into Pilate's hand from his wife, relating her warning dream, is passed over by the other evangelists. It is a kind of echo-conscience come to disturb, but powerless to guide. Pilate is on the judgment seat but there is no place beside him for conscience or justice. Another detail peculiar to Matthew is the dramatic act of Pilate washing his hands and declaring that he is "innocent of the blood of this just person." All the people said, "His blood be on us and on our children," little dreaming of the awfulness of the deed in its moral character or in its age-long consequences.

This vain spectacular performance over, Pilate was forced by the mob to do what he did not have courage to refuse to do. "And when he had scourged Jesus, he delivered him to be crucified." Scourging was a preliminary part of crucifixion. This brutality, whatever its original purpose, was not without its merciful compensation, for it shortened the unspeakable agony of the cross, if death did not result from the scourging itself. The soldiers regarded condemned persons as their natural prey to relieve the enforced tedium of their lives. And this was an extraordinary case—the case of one who had claimed to be a king. It was worth while that the whole cohort of six hundred soldiers should assemble in the common hall to witness the merriment of a mock coronation. A scarlet military cloak served for royal purple, a reed for a scepter, a wreath of thorn-twigs for a crown. They bowed the knees in mock obeisance, then, with brutal horseplay, spit upon him and smote him over the head with the reed. This inhuman treatment doubtless left Jesus so exhausted as to be unable to carry his cross according to custom. A Cyrenian Jew, one of the visitors to the Feast perhaps, was compelled to bear the cross.

Arriving at Golgotha, Jesus is ready to fall from exhaustion, but refuses the stimulant offered him. In the dividing of his



garment Matthew sees a fulfilment of prophecy (Ps. 22:18). The parallel is more clearly brought out in John 19:24.

Vs. 23 shows that Pilate believed Jesus innocent of the crime of treason, so that the inscription above his head is only the "accusation" (vs. 37). John tells us that the superscription was written in Greek, Latin, and Hebrew—the languages of the three great civilizations, which, in different ways, had prepared the highways for the coming king, who had to come, to the amazement of all who expected him, by the way of the cross.

The robbers on the two crosses, the chief priests, the scribes, the elders, and the mob are reduced to a common denominator in their attitude of derision toward the Sufferer. They seem to have won; the claims of Jesus seem to have been empty. The common circle of ideas, even some of the words, recall the initial struggle of Jesus in the temptation in the wilderness. Nothing can be more foreign to the natural heart of man than victory through surrender, a kingdom through sacrifice. Nothing could be more natural than to say, "If thou be the Son of God come down from the cross." Nothing could be more supernatural than, being the Son of God, to become obedient unto death. Yet Jesus' way, the way of the cross, proved the way of the crown (Phil. 2:9-11).

The cry of Jesus on the cross, "My God, My God, why hast thou forsaken me?" is an utterance from the twenty-second psalm. In the mouth of the psalmist it expresses the feelings of a sufferer left for some inscrutable reason to the will of his enemies. But the psalmist's faith has not lost hold of God, nor has God deserted the psalmist. Jesus feels himself in a parallel situation, and after six hours of extreme bodily suffering and unfathomable mental anguish he utters this agonizing human cry—perhaps more an exclamation than a question, or if a question, one wrung from bewildered astonishment, like the cry in Gethsemane.

While Jesus' meaning is not for a moment to be limited to the historical significance of the words he uses, still the theological idea that, since Jesus is here bearing our sins in his own body on the tree, God has withdrawn himself from him in the supreme moment of his sacrifice, is not clearly indicated,

## THE RESURRECTION, MATT. 28:1-20

Matthew gives only one section of the resurrection story which is found in the four gospels and in the fifteenth chapter of First Corinthians. On the other hand, he gives independent material, e.g., the account of the earthquake and the angel rolling away the stone (vss. 2-4), the report of the guard to the chief priests, with their bribe and instruction to say that the disciples stole away the body (vss. 11-15), and the meeting of Jesus with the Eleven on some mountain in Galilee. None of the sacred writers attempts to give us a full history of the resurrection. Each writer is concerned with the practical interest of the evidence for the fact of the resurrection. The stories when taken together present numerous difficulties. A perfect harmony of details can hardly be reached; but when the circumstances and the nature of the occurrence are considered, this is by no means surprising. Even in so mundane a thing as the battle of Waterloo, happening in the modern critical world, with all the modern facilities for acquiring facts accurately, the accounts as to details are hopelessly conflicting. For example, as to the time the battle began, the Duke of Wellington said ten o'clock, General Alava, who rode beside him, said half-past eleven, Napoleon and Drouet said twelve o'clock, Ney said one o'clock. The one fact they all agreed on was that it began, and their witness to this fact has not been impaired by differences.

Matthew's account contains two appearances, first, to the women who are hurrying away from the empty tomb with the angelic message to the disciples; second, to the eleven disciples in Galilee on the mountain where Jesus had told them to meet him. This latter appearance is the important one. In it the great commission is given.

"Some doubted" can hardly mean some of the eleven, but others who were there. In this conference we see the struggle for authority is now ended. Truth slain has risen again, and Jesus' first word to his disciples is, "All authority in heaven and on the earth has been given to me."

No ending to the gospel could be more appropriate than Christ's commission to disciple all nations and baptize them in his name. For the lordship that has been given must be made actual; Christ



*By permission of the sculptor*

*Erastus Dow Palmer*

THE ANGEL AT THE SEPULCHER



must be Lord indeed. "He is Lord of all, or not Lord at all." The spirit of Christ, of Christianity, is missionary. It is inconceivable that the disciples, having found the Savior, and believing him the Savior of all, shall not wish to give the knowledge of him to all.

#### THE FACT AND MEANING OF THE RESURRECTION<sup>2</sup>

1. Jesus expected and predicted that he would rise from the dead, though his statements were not clear and strong enough to reach the understanding and heart of his disciples. They were mentally preoccupied when he had spoken; now their hopes were buried in Joseph's tomb. Joseph of Arimathea, Nicodemus, and the women were finishing up their tasks of love to the dead, bringing burial spices to stay for a little time the power of corruption. There was no hope of resurrection. The disappointment of the women at not finding the body, the astonishment of the apostles, the doubts of disciples, all conform to the statement: "For as yet they knew not the Scripture, that he must rise from the dead."

2. Jesus' predictions involved that he should continue to enjoy God's favor, that he should be with his disciples, and that he should be active in the work of the kingdom of God on earth.

3. This is the important matter for Christian faith. However interesting the questions of the nature of the resurrection body and the manner of the resurrection, they are nevertheless of secondary importance. The essential thing that faith demands is the living Christ present in our hearts and lives and in the church.

4. And whatever differences in detail appear in the gospels, they leave us in no uncertainty as to the main point. The Eleven and Paul bear unequivocal testimony to an unshakable confidence that Jesus manifested himself after death to his disciples and talked with them. "The primary testimony of the disciples to Jesus was their testimony to his resurrection: except as Risen and Exalted they never preached Jesus at all."

5. Paul's witness differs in some respects from that of the earlier disciples. His testimony has peculiar value because he is the trained leader of the Jewish opposition, a contemporary who knew

<sup>2</sup> See Burton and Mathews, *Life of Christ*, 289-92.

all that the Jews could allege against the resurrection and yet is converted from opposition to faith.

6. The testimony of the gospels to the empty tomb is of value only as it fits into the chain of positive evidence. We start with the undisputed fact of the empty tomb. If it had not been empty the fact must have been known to the disciples and to Paul and have precluded faith in the resurrection. The story of robbery given by the guard is valueless. In the first place, it is highly improbable that the whole guard should be asleep when sleeping was punishable with death, and, second, if they were asleep they couldn't tell what happened. The hypothesis that the body was stolen has a twofold difficulty. If the Jews stole it Paul would have known it, and if the disciples stole it the martyr-faith in the resurrection would have been impossible.

7. "The real historic evidence for the resurrection is the fact that it was believed, preached, propagated, and produced its fruit and effect in the new phenomenon of the Christian church." It is admitted by all that without the belief in the resurrection there could have been no Christian church. The fact that produced that faith, as given in the gospels, repeated in the epistles, believed in by the church, is the resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead.

## Work and Workers

THE losses by death among the biblical scholars of Germany were exceptionally heavy in the year 1909. In Professor Carl Clemen's article on Professor Emil Schürer published in our October issue, he mentions also the recent death of such well-known scholars as Hausrath, Merx, Bassermann, Kamphausen, Haupt, and Kautzsch. To this list there should be added Heinrich Julius Holtzmann, who died at Baden Baden August 4 of the present year.

Professor Holtzmann has been for two generations a conspicuous figure among the ablest New Testament scholars of Germany. He was born in 1822, became professor of theology at Heidelberg in 1861, whence he removed in 1904 to Strassburg, where he continued to the end of his life. The books by which he is best known are: *Lehrbuch der historisch-kritischen Einleitung in das Neue Testament*; *Hand-Kommentar zum Neuen Testament*; *Lehrbuch der neutestamentlichen Theologie*. From 1892-99 he was editor of the *Theologischer Jahresbericht*.

SIR WILLIAM M. RAMSAY, D.C.L., LL.D., professor of humanity in Aberdeen University and author of *St. Paul the Traveller and the Roman Citizen*, together with other well-known works, delivered a course of six lectures on the Haskell Foundation in Oberlin Theological Seminary recently. His subject was "The Contrast of Asiatic and European, Oriental and Western Spirit, in Early Christian History, and Especially in the Acts of the Apostles."

IN these days, when in the home lands the number of candidates for the Christian ministry is discouragingly small, and those who are especially interested in the matter are watching with interest for any signs of an upward turn of the tide, it is interesting to learn of a notable movement in this direction within the Christian church of China. In the winter of 1908-9 in the Shantung Union University, an institution which has the largest number of Christian students of any school of college rank in China, there developed, without special activity of the faculty, an extraordinary revival of interest in the ministry. As a result, in this school from which very few men had previously become ministers, one hundred men pledged themselves to take up the work of the Christian ministry. This significant event was followed by a similar movement in the Peking Christian University and in North China Union College



at Tung Chow. At the North China Students' Conference held in June, representatives from various colleges met and organized the Students' Volunteer Movement of China. Among the 300 men whom this movement represented is included a leading Chinese professor of the Shantung Union College who is well known throughout the empire as the author of a series of college textbooks. What it signifies that 300 men should thus pledge themselves to devote their lives to the evangelization of China appears more clearly when it is remembered that practically all these men would be able on graduation from college to command a salary of \$100 or more a month in secular occupations, while the ministry at present offers them only about \$5 a month.

Mr. Arthur Rugh, who writes the report of these events in the *Student World* for October, 1910, says:

Occidental readers will understand better what this movement means should they imagine what the result would be if this year Cambridge University should send into the ministry 1,320 of her choicest students, and if, in North America, Yale University should furnish 1,575 candidates for the ministry, including the entire football team and the majority of the debaters, and if Toronto University should furnish this year for the ministry in Canada 1,800 of her best students, including every leading Christian in the university.

The great weakness of the Christian movement in China thus far has been in the lack of able and well-educated Chinese in the positions of leadership in the church. Whereas in Japan one finds able Christian men in positions of importance in the state and in education, and men of ability and education in the ministry, the instances of this kind in China are proportionately far fewer. In fact, very few college-educated men have thus far found their way into the ministry in China. If the present movement fulfils its promise and these 300 men and others, who will naturally follow them, carry out their purpose of devoting themselves to the work of the Christian ministry, the Christian movement in China will have entered upon a new stage of its history.

SEVERAL changes have taken place in the personnel of some of the theological faculties in Germany during the past year. Early in the year Johannes Leipoldt, Privatdozent in Halle, was announced to succeed Ferd. Mühlau, retired, in Kiel; and Georg Beer, extraordinary professor of Old Testament theology at Strassburg, was called to Heidelberg to succeed Adalbert Merx who died in the summer of 1909. The loss which Halle suffered through the death of Erich Haupt of the New Testament department in February, 1910, and of Emil Kautzsch of the

Old Testament Department in May of the same year has been met by calling two of the best-known teachers of Breslau, Carl H. Cornill for the Old Testament and Paul Feine for the New. The latter will be succeeded at Breslau by Ernst von Dobschütz, ordinary professor of New Testament Exegesis in Strassburg. Ernst Kühl, ordinary professor of New Testament at Königsberg, takes the place left vacant in Göttingen by Schürer's death, and Kühl is followed by A. Juncker from Breslau. The latter's chair in Breslau is taken by Privatdozent G. Hoennicke of Berlin, while Privatdozent F. Kückler of Berlin succeeds Beer as extraordinary professor of Old Testament theology at Strassburg.

THE tenth series of the American Lectures on the History of Religion is being given by Professor M. de Groot, of the University of Leyden, Holland. This series of lectures is given with the support of the Lowell Institute, the Universities of Harvard, Yale, Columbia, Johns Hopkins, Pennsylvania, and Chicago, and Union Theological Seminary. Dr. de Groot is one of the greatest living authorities on China and the Chinese. He was already known in America, whither he came in 1909 to deliver a series of lectures at Hartford Theological Seminary on the Lamson Foundation. This series has since been published under the title, *The Religion of the Chinese* (1910).

Previous works by Dr. de Groot which have called forth the admiration of scholars are *Sectarianism and Religious Persecution in China*, 2 vols. (1903-4); *The Religious System of China: Its Ancient Forms, Evolution, History, and Present Aspect*, 6 vols. (1902-10); *Les fêtes annuellement célébrées à Emoui. Étude concernant la religion populaire des Chinois*, 2 vols. (1886).

The course now being given deals with "The Development of Religious Ideas in China." The subjects of the six successive lectures are (1) The Tao, or Order of the Universe; (2) The Tao of Man; (3) Holiness; (4) Asceticism; Prolongation of Life; (5) Worship of the Universe; (6) Social and Political Taoism. The series will be given at the University of Chicago on the dates, December 8, 9, 12, 13, 14, and 15.

## Book Reviews

### JESUS AND THE MODEL LIFE

Each age has its own way of describing the model life, and each Christian age makes its own interpretation of Jesus as the ethical prototype. Religious thinking, social ideas, philosophical conceptions, political conditions, and methods of historical retrospect all have a part in shaping the ethical ideal which a generation adopts, and the picture of Jesus painted by any period is likewise colored by each of these elements of human experience. The result, at any particular time, is an interesting composite. Some recent books dealing with the life and teachings of Jesus illustrate this fact.

Professor Stalker,<sup>1</sup> assuming the same attitude toward the Synoptic Gospels as that which he adopted in *The Christology of Jesus*, published in 1899, arranges Jesus' teachings under the Greek ethical categories of "the Highest Good," "Virtue," and "Duty." "The Highest Good" he analyzes into "The Gospel, or Blessedness," "The Kingdom of God," "Righteousness," "Missing the Highest Good," and "Sin." "Virtue" is likewise resolved into "Repentance," "Faith," "The Imitation of Christ," and "The Cross and Offenses"; and "Duty" into "The Love of God," "The Things of God," "The Love of Man," "The Things of Man," "The Family," and "The State." The volume closes with an essay of twenty-seven pages on "The Church and the Social Teachings of Jesus," by Dr. Stalker's pastor, Rev. Fred. J. Rae, M.A. Dr. Stalker concludes that "Jesus lifts up a far higher standard than any other ethical teacher; but little would he deserve the name of Saviour if this were all he did. . . . He is the Giver of the ethical life which he demands" (p. 368).

Markedly different in method but arriving at similar conclusions is the work of Durell.<sup>2</sup> He is disposed to accept the results of historical investigation to some extent, so that "he does not lay stress upon the [Fourth] Gospel as a transcript of history" (p. vi), though, as the plan of the book involves all the New Testament writings, he assumes the Pauline authorship of all the nominally Pauline letters, the Lukan

<sup>1</sup> *The Ethic of Jesus according to the Synoptic Gospels.* By Rev. James Stalker, M.A., D.D. New York: Armstrong, 1909. x+403 pages. \$1.75 net.

<sup>2</sup> *The Self-Revelation of Our Lord.* By J. C. V. Durell, B.D. Edinburgh: Clark, 1910. [Imported by Scribner.] xxviii+224 pages. \$2.00 net.



authorship of Acts, and the genuineness of the First Epistle of Peter. His aim is "to trace the progressive apprehension of the claims of Jesus by his disciples, and then to show that the interpretation of those claims . . . by the apostolic band is true" (p. viii). As "these claims are unintelligible and impossible unless Jesus Christ is God" (p. 217), and as "there is no ground for saying that the full truth as to the Person and Nature of Jesus was conveyed by the teaching which the synoptists represent him as giving during the Ministry," Jesus was not a man in any proper sense, nor an actual model for humanity.

A third book<sup>3</sup> offers a distinctly separate line of thought. To Dr. McClelland, Jesus was a genuine man, who believed that God is a Father, that he himself was a Son of that Father, but, at the same time, "the brother of men" (p. 49), that sin is "to live the lower life" (p. 98), that "salvation is living as a son through all one's being" (p. 114), that, finally, the serious question about immortality is not the mere fact, but, "if my soul survives everlastingly, will it share in the 'eternal life'?" (p. 152). In short, "Jesus was the first Christian, the kind of Christian men ought to be, the kind of Christian men can be if only they will think his thoughts, feel his feelings and give themselves up to his master idea" (p. v).

The Cole Lectures at Vanderbilt University for 1909<sup>4</sup> and for 1910<sup>5</sup> have been published close together. In 1909 Dr. Bishop urged that, "if men are to know Christ at all as an effective Redeemer and Saviour, they must know him in the *Man, Jesus, of the New Testament* . . . [and] Jesus, himself, must be known in his *complete manhood*" (p. 8). Therefore we must study Jesus himself, learn his attitude to the universe, his "constructive purpose," his ethical ideas, and his example as a preacher. When we do this, we find him one of those "gracious personalities who have the power to *give themselves* to their friends" (p. 8). "In him there is opened before the mind of the student a radiant disclosure and exhibition of the secret of godly living" (p. 168).

To Bishop McDowell, the Cole lectureship offered opportunity to present the Christian life as a school, in which Jesus is the Master.

<sup>3</sup> *The Mind of Christ: An Attempt to Answer the Question, What Did Jesus Believe?* By T. Calvin McClelland, D.D. New York: Crowell, 1909. ix+210 pages. \$1.25.

<sup>4</sup> *Jesus the Worker: Studies in the Ethical Leadership of the Son of Man.* ["The Cole Lectures for 1909; Delivered before Vanderbilt University."] By Charles McTyeire Bishop, D.D. New York: Revell, 1910. 240 pages. \$1.25 net.

<sup>5</sup> *In the School of Christ.* ["The Cole Lectures for 1910; Delivered before Vanderbilt University."] By William Frazer McDowell. New York: Revell, 1910. 303 pages. \$1.25 net.

By him the Christian, as a student, is chosen "to hear what he says," "to see what he does," "to learn what he is," and then to be sent out "with a message," "with a program," and "with a personality." From this school, however, "we are never dismissed. . . . For the truth is a living truth, the program a vital program, and the Master himself a living force, personal and present in his truth, in his program, and in those who own him as Master and Lord" (p. 301).

This summary of the views of each of the writers in his own words makes it evident that no one of the books is at all satisfactory as a complete presentation of what Jesus was. Some of the writers, especially McClelland, Bishop, and McDowell, make no claim to do more than treat some aspects of Jesus' life and its significance, and their discussions are correspondingly suggestive, their books the more profitable reading.

Durell, while aiming to adopt the historical method with reference to the New Testament literature, and to some degree accomplishing that, is utterly lacking in the general historical spirit of interpretation, and his work will be of value to those only who, like himself, are led to maintain "that the data upon which the first teachers of the gospel worked lead necessarily to the Catholic interpretation of the Nature and Person of Jesus" (p. viii).

Stalker seeks to cover thoroughly the field of Jesus' ethical teachings, but, even remembering that his book is intended only as a part of his interpretation of the gospels which was begun in *The Christology of Jesus* and is to be continued in other volumes, his discussion is far from satisfactory. As a leading defect, we must observe his failure to estimate the sources from which the teachings of Jesus are to be drawn.<sup>6</sup> In this respect, as well as in most others, his work is distinctly inferior to that of President King,<sup>7</sup> which undertakes essentially the same task. Again, it was an unfortunate venture on the part of Dr. Stalker to attempt to express Jesus' thinking in Greek categories. I have reproduced the analysis that the reader may see to what it leads. Dr. Stalker is aware that from such phraseology "the modern man has grown away" (p. 5), but he thinks the words of Jesus "will arrange themselves without any force" (p. 17), under the ancient terms. Most of his readers will probably not be so confident. They will inquire,

<sup>6</sup> E.g., such a discrepancy as that between Matt. 5:32; 19:9 on the one hand and Mark 10:11 with Luke 16:18 on the other concerning divorce can hardly be disposed of so easily as the treatment of Dr. Stalker (pp. 340-41) would have us believe.

<sup>7</sup> *The Ethics of Jesus*. By Henry Churchill King. New York: Macmillan, 1910. 293 pages. \$1.50.

e.g., why "the Love of Man" should be "Duty" rather than "Virtue," and how "Repentance" is "Virtue" in preference to "Duty." The excellent things which the author says constantly, as separate statements (e.g., in his treatment of "the State"), cannot obscure the primal mistake in terminology and analysis. It is to be feared that those who take most from his discussion will tend to be established in forms of thought which are not most helpful for moral progress at the present time. Many readers will find in Mr. Rae's supplementary essay a keener insight into the moral significance of Jesus and a richer interpretation of his message to the world than in all the previous pages of the volume. It is not strange therefore, that, while Dr. Stalker's largeness of heart led him to include the essay as an example of "the views of fresh and sympathetic minds" of today, he felt compelled to add: "not because I entirely agree with them" (p. 371).

These recent efforts to deal with the teaching of Jesus on moral topics are welcome signs of the times. Quite imperfect though some of them are, they promise that Jesus' ethics as well as his religion are to receive appropriate treatment, that, in the course of time, we shall see an adequate discussion of Jesus and his teachings for the richest type of life, not simply in religion but in morals as well. Too long he has been regarded as the prototype in religion alone. Some, to be sure, would still have us understand that, if he was a teacher of morals at all, he touched only a limited sphere.<sup>8</sup> If, however, while he wrote no moral treatises, like Plato and Aristotle, for example, yet his teaching is surcharged with ethical impulse and life for all aspects of our human activities today, then the great need is a correlation of his thought with the wisdom of other ethical leaders. And when this is done we need have no fear concerning the honor which will be assigned to Jesus for his share in our progress toward the model life.

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<sup>8</sup> A teacher of ethics in one of the leading American universities told me, in 1908, that he had read the gospels through carefully in order to discover whether Jesus gave any material for political ethics, and he said that he had found nothing except the phrase, "Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's."



## New Literature

The most important books listed in these columns will receive notice in the book-review pages.

### OLD TESTAMENT

#### BOOKS

GLAZEBROOK, M. G. *Studies in the Book of Isaiah*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1910. Pp. xix+349.

A book based upon a series of lectures given before general audiences in Bristol and Norwich, England. It presents the modern conception of the book of Isaiah in a way easily understood and sure to be appreciated. It should prove very useful in the hands of both the laity and the ministry.

SCOTT, F. W. *Selections from the Old Testament*, edited with Introduction and Notes. [Macmillan Pocket Classics.] New York, Macmillan, 1910. Pp. xxvi+335. 25 cents.

A selection of sections from the narrative portions of the Old Testament. The text selected is that of the Authorized Version, since the purpose of the series is to furnish examples of classic English in convenient form. It is hoped that studies of this sort will at least enable the students of our schools to gain a decent knowledge of the contents of the Old Testament, together with some appreciation of the literary excellence of the greatest of English classics.

#### ARTICLES

HAUPT, P. Notes on Micah. *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, October, 1910, pp. 1-63.

This article furnishes the translation and interpretative notes to accompany the text published in the July issue. The notes contain much useful information together with much that is intensely subjective.

MITCHELL, H. G. Has Old Testament Criticism Collapsed? *The Harvard Theological Review*, October, 1910, pp. 464-81.

A vindication of historical criticism against the claims of certain writers that the writings of Eerdmans, Wiener, *et al.*, have demonstrated its inadequacy.

WHITEHOUSE, O. C. The Condition of Egypt and Western Asia, 1700-1200 B.C. *The Interpreter*, October, 1910, pp. 80-87.

One of a series of articles which sketch in rapid outline the course of events in the oriental world. This section deals with the religious revolution in Egypt under Amenhotep IV and with the campaigns of Egypt in Palestine and against the Hittites in the time of Seti I and Rameses II.

ELHORST, H. J. Das Ephod. *Zeitschrift für die Altestamentliche Wissenschaft*, October, 1910, pp. 259-76.

A convincing argument against the view that the Ephod in early Israel was a loin-cloth with pockets therein for the sacred lot, together with an attempt to trace the ephod through the various stages of its history from the time when it was an image of deity down to the time when it became a part of the equipment of the high priest.

## NEW TESTAMENT

## BOOKS

WOHLENBERG, G. Das Evangelium des Markus. Leipzig: Deichert, 1910. Pp. x+402.

This is another volume in the useful series of New Testament commentaries being issued under the general editorship of Zahn. The "Introduction" is very brief. Indeed questions of literary criticism, which are now so much in evidence in the study of this gospel, are scarcely touched. The main body of the work is more complete, although the discussion of historical problems seems to be generally avoided.

STOSCH, G. Die Apostolischen Sendschreiben nach ihren Gedankengängen. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1910. Pp. 165.

A popular exposition, section by section, of the argument of Paul's letter to the Romans.

UNGNAD, A., UND STAERK, W. Die Oden Salomos. Bonn: Marcus und Weber, 1910. Pp. 40.

A new German translation, in Lietzmann's convenient and inexpensive *Kleine Texte*, of the recently discovered Odes of Solomon.

## ARTICLES

GILBERT, G. H. The Greek Element in the Epistle to the Hebrews. *American Journal of Theology*, XIV (1910), 521-32.

The writer finds in this letter traces of the Logos idea, the Platonic doctrine of ideas, the Greek view of inspiration and scriptural interpretation.

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